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FOURTEENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 28, 1846.

—  
WITH AN APPENDIX.  
—

IN BOSTON:

PRINTED BY SCARLETT AND LAING.

1846.

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# REPORT.

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THE revolution of another year has completed the term of office of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and has brought around the time when it is their duty and their privilege to render an account of their stewardship to their constituents. A well-founded custom, also, demands of them, in addition to their Report of their doings, as the official servants of the Society, a brief view of the present condition and prospects of the Anti-Slavery cause, as seen in the light of the history of the last twelve months. In the great procession of events, which has filled up the year that is just closed, there were some whose cheering and animating aspect spoke to us only of hope and encouragement, and there were others, whose black and baleful influences fell cold upon our hearts, and seemed to cast ominous conjecture upon the fate of our enterprise and of our country. It cannot be expected that in the space which we can command, we should enter into a minute historical detail of either the one or the other. All that can be asked of us is, a slight review of the most important events of the year, that have affected the progress of the Anti-Slavery movement, and a passing glance at the cautions, the counsels and the hopes which they have bestowed upon us in their flight.

## TEXAS.

The brief twelvemonth which has just finished its course will be ever memorable in history for the bold completion of a national crime, long in open or in secret contemplation, the disastrous consequences of which to the African race and to the cause of Freedom throughout the world, though they may not be distinctly foreseen, can scarcely be exaggerated. At the time of our last annual assembly we spoke together of this event as impending, and as, apparently, inevitable ; we have now to record its final consummation. When we last met together the rebellious daughter of Mexico was standing at the doors of the Union, asking to be received into our protection with her dowry of plunder and of crime. The gate which had once been shut against her admission because the uses of an impending conflict for the powers of the government forbade a too hasty welcome, has been expanded wide for her triumphal entry, and she now sits upon as high a throne and wears her robe of sovereignty as royally as any of her elder sisters. Her domestic institutions are now united with our own in the ties of an indissoluble wedlock. Her fertile plains and green savannahs are thrown open to invite to exhaustless regions the slavery which has made a desert of the fields of its birth. A new market is created for the sale of men, and a fresh impulse is given to the trade in human cattle. The Slave Power exults in the overthrow of the boasted compromise of 1820, and rejoices in a victory which has thrown the balance of political power into her hands, as long as the Union endures, and rivets the chains of her Northern vassals, as well as of her Southern slaves. And the servile North submits, with scarce an audible remonstrance.

The following is a succinct account of the transaction. After the last Presidential contest was decided in favor of Mr.

**POLK**, whose name was understood, during the canvass, to be synonymous with Texas, the dominant party in Congress proceeded with all convenient speed to crown the work of Annexation. Joint Resolutions were introduced by **Mr. MILTON BROWN**, suitable for the accomplishment of this purpose. These resolutions were debated with much warmth for several days. On the 25th of February the resolutions passed by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY TO NINETY-EIGHT. When the resolutions were before the Senate strong hopes were entertained by the enemies of the measure, from the political complexion of that body, that its success would at least be deferred to another Congress. Three Southern Whigs, however, whose constancy to the policy of their party had been relied on, honestly confessed themselves more of Slaveholders than of Whigs, and voted for the resolutions. In order, however, to provide a loophole for the retreat of tender consciences, who doubted whether Congress were competent, by joint resolution, to unite another nation to this, **Mr. WALKER** of Mississippi, the Coryphæus of the movement, moved an amendment, by virtue of which the President might elect whether he would complete the Annexation by negotiation, or by the effect of the joint resolutions. This notable specific did its work, the tender consciences were relieved, and the resolutions, as amended, passed, on the 27th of February, by a vote of TWENTY-SEVEN TO TWENTY-FIVE. Upon the resolutions, with the amendment, being returned to the House, they were passed, the next day, (28th), as amended, under an order virtually prohibiting debate, by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-TWO TO SEVENTY-SIX. All the Democrats in the House, including two (**Messrs. PARMENTER** and **WILLIAMS**) from this State, voted in the affirmative, with the honorable exceptions of **Mr. JOHN P. HALE** of New Hampshire, and **Mr. R. D. DAVIS** of New York.

It was the intention, and the expectation, doubtless, of the leaders in this matter, that the election between the two

methods of possessing ourselves of what did not belong to us, should be made by the new President, and not by the one whose term of office was just expiring. But Mr. TYLER was not to be shorn of the glory with which it had been his ambition to invest his administration. At almost the last gasp of his political existence, he made choice of the mode by Joint Resolution, and despatched a messenger forthwith, to convey the news of his decision to the Texan authorities.

It now became necessary for the Texan Congress and people to consent to the Annexation, and to form the Republican Constitution, necessary to the admission of its "lone star" to the constellation that sheds its selectest influences upon the symbolic stripes of the national ensign. Influences seemed at one time to be at work, which might have the effect of retarding, if not of preventing, this unholy alliance. There seemed, for a brief space, a gleam of hope that the banners of this unhallowed marriage might yet be forbidden. There is good reason for believing that a strong reluctance existed on the part of the leading public men of Texas to descending from their position at the head of a recognized nation to the subordinate dignities of one of the United States. The diplomatic agents of England and France were active in doing what was possible to prevent the deed. Through their influence chiefly, it is believed, Mexico was induced to offer a full recognition of the independence of Texas, on condition that it should remain a separate nation. But the force of the slave power from within, and the pressure of the slave power from without, easily bore down all opposition. The existence of slavery in Texas, and the prosperity of slavery in the United States, were well understood to be incompatible with her nationality. The Texan Congress forthwith took the necessary measures to call the requisite convention of the people; and the convention accepted the terms of admission with but a single dissenting vote. A constitution was framed and adopted, in which slavery was honestly made the chief end of the

compact, and the institution guarded by provisions, which make emancipation a moral impossibility.

During these proceedings the dwellers in the cities, and they that go down to the sea in ships, were startled by rumors of war which was to spring from this just cause, if just cause of war can be. The indignation of Mexico was to be visited upon the commerce of the country, and many a breast that had never felt a throb of sympathy for the miseries which Annexation was to work in thousands of human hearts, nor a thrill of indignation at the mingled chicanery and ruffianism which had accomplished it, bled in view of the possible calamity of whale-ships and Indiamen. To calm these fears, the providence of the Executive concentrated the main body of the army upon the frontiers of Texas and Mexico, not to say within the borders of Mexico itself, and bade our fleet to hover, like birds of ill-omen, upon the Mexican sea-coast. Whether it were owing to these displays of superior force, or whether the inherent weakness and internal dissensions of Mexico prevented any hostile demonstrations, none were made. The law of the lion prevailed, and the weaker party went quietly to the wall. The slavery party, it seems, knew their men, and had not exaggerated the weakness of the victim they had selected to despoil. All apprehensions of a Mexican war have long since died away; and, by the last accounts, there is a prospect of a speedy renewal of diplomatic intercourse between the two Republics!

At the opening of the present Congress, therefore, the Nation of Texas offered herself at the threshold of the Union, and presenting the proofs that she had complied with all the conditions required of her, and proffering a constitution to which the most devoted lover of the peculiar institutions of his country could not object, demanded that she should be permitted to merge her nationality in the embrace of the United States. So reasonable a request was not to be gain-said or denied. At the earliest possible moment, the neces-



sary resolutions were introduced into the House of Representatives, and carried, at the point of the bayonet, under the previous question, moved before the resolutions were before the House, by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE to FIFTY-NINE. In the Senate the farce was conducted with rather more regard to appearances; but the resolutions passed, after a short debate, by a vote of THIRTY-ONE to THIRTEEN. They immediately received the signature of the President, and the long contest is at last ended by the triumphant union of the two nations. They twain are henceforward one. The area of Freedom is indefinitely extended into the dominions of Mexico, and there seems to be no consistent reason to be given why it should not extend itself till it cover the whole continent embraced, on either side, by the Atlantic and the Pacific, and terminate its career of Annexation only at Terra del Fuego.

During the progress of this nefarious business, we are proud to say, that Massachusetts was not wholly silent and supine. Her words of remonstrance at least were heard protesting against the deed. The House of Representatives passed resolutions, by a majority of 288 to 41, denying the constitutional right of Congress to annex a foreign country by legislation; that such act of admission would have no binding effect upon the people of Massachusetts; that such annexation could only be made by the people in their original sovereign capacity; and that Massachusetts would never consent to the admission of Texas, or any other State, except on the basis of perfect equality of freemen. When these resolutions came up for concurrence before the Senate, Mr. WILSON, of Middlesex, moved as an amendment, that if Texas should be admitted by a legislative act of Congress, this act could, and ought to be, repealed, at the earliest possible moment. This was rejected by a vote of twenty-four to eight. Other amendments were proposed, but finally the House resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote.

This action on the part of the Legislature, though much better than nothing, lacked the only declaration for which the friends of Annexation would have cared,— that Massachusetts would regard the consummation of the act as a dissolution of the Union, and would treat it, in very deed, as if not binding and of no effect. **MESSRS. ADAMS, WILSON and BORDEN**, of the Senate, deserve the highest honor for the courage and consistency with which they opposed this act of treason to freedom and humanity.

Nor were protestations against its accomplishment confined to the Halls of Legislation. In pursuance to a call signed by many of the most prominent citizens of the State, for intelligence, moral weight and political eminence, of all parties, a convention of delegates from all parts of the Commonwealth, representing the opposition to Annexation, assembled in Faneuil Hall, on the 29th of January, and continued its session into the following day. The Hall was filled with an assembly of earnest and thoughtful men, who were of one mind as to the iniquity of Annexation, widely as they differed in many other points of opinion and practice. The discussions were marked by great freedom and ability, and attracted large crowds to listen to them. Among the more prominent of the speakers we may mention, though necessarily omitting many names deserving of mention, the **HON. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS**, the **HON. CHARLES ALLEN**, **MR. GEORGE S. HILLARD**, **MR. GARRISON**, **PRESIDENT ALLEN**, the **REV. CALEB STETSON**, and the **REV. SAMUEL J. MAY**. The principal business done by the Convention was the adoption of an Address, said to have been dictated, in part, by the foremost of the public men of Massachusetts. It was well worthy of the highest powers. The Anti-Slavery argument against Annexation was most forcibly presented in it, and the duty of Massachusetts to take the lead in the opposition, strongly set forth. Its weak point, and consequently, that of the doings of the Convention, lay in its containing merely an argument and a protest against the

crime, but without indicating any course of conduct to be pursued by Massachusetts, in case it should be finally committed. After adopting the address by a unanimous vote, the Convention adjourned, leaving further action in the hands of a Committee of Correspondence, whose doings have not as yet been made public.

Though this Convention was not attended by all the good results which might have followed a more vigorous line of action, still it was highly honorable to the gentlemen who were mainly instrumental in calling it, and truly encouraging in the signs it made manifest of an increasing sense of the general share of the whole people in the guilt and the punishment of slavery. Though it was summoned and attended by members of all parties, still its most numerous and active friends belonged to the Whig party, and they were rewarded for their efforts by the coldness and the opposition of many of their political friends. The extent to which, not only the rank and file, but prominent men, of the Whig party, showed themselves unwilling to hold their peace, in obedience to the wishes and the example of its leaders, when their sense of duty bade them speak, on this subject, was an encouraging sign of the times in the midst of evil days and evil tongues. These remarks are, of course, even more true of the members of the Democratic party who took part in, or sympathized with, the Convention.

The same disposition on the part of a certain portion of the influential members of the Whig party to check any agitation in the general mind, on the subject of Texas, has been evinced at a later period. The Spring and Summer wore away without any concentrated action of the enemies of Annexation. In consequence of a proposition made at the celebration of West India Emancipation, at Waltham, on the first of August, one of the simultaneous meetings called by this Board, Mr. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, a member of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society,

proposed that a committee should be appointed to call a County Convention on the subject of Annexation. This Committee issued a call, which was signed by many prominent men of all parties, in the County of Middlesex, for a Convention to be held at Concord. Accordingly this meeting was held, in September, and was one of deep interest. This Convention met, by adjournment, again at Cambridge on the 21st day of October. An animated meeting was there held; and, as the call of the Convention was exclusively addressed to the citizens of Middlesex County, and as it seemed to be a good opportunity for instituting a more general scheme of opposition, a meeting was held of citizens who were present from various other parts of the State, at an interval of the Convention, of which ELLIS GRAY LORING, of Boston, was Chairman, and EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham, Secretary, which appointed a numerous State Committee to assume the duty of rallying the people to the rescue, if it might be done. This Committee, of which the Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS was Chairman, entered upon their duties with zeal, and devoted themselves to their performance with a spirit and industry that did them the highest honor. They issued an address to the people; they entered into correspondence with the opposers of Annexation throughout the State; they sent forms of remonstrance against the admission of Texas, as a Slave State, not only to every part of this State, but to every county in the Free States; they published a weekly paper devoted to the cause; they held public meetings in the Metropolis, and in many other towns, to excite the general mind on the subject, and many of its members were untiring in their personal exertions to promote the same wholesome agitation. A public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, on the 4th of November, which was well attended, upon a most tempestuous evening, and addressed by Messrs. ADAMS, PALFREY, CHARLES SUMNER, WENDELL PHILLIPS, GARRISON, WILLIAM H. CHANNING STANTON and HILLARD. Meetings were subsequently held in

Lowell, Brookline, Dedham, Hingham, Roxbury and many other places. Mr. CHARLES F. ADAMS, Mr. JOHN G. PALFREY, Mr. WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Mr. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, and other gentlemen, did good service in addressing these assemblies. The Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS delivered two addresses on the subject, in the Tremont Temple, which exposed in a masterly manner the iniquity of the Texas Scheme, and which have since been published and widely read.

During these efforts on the part of the Committee, they received but little sympathy or assistance from the chief men of the party which had made hostility to Texas one of their watchwords in the late Presidential campaign. Some of the more prominent among them even refused to sign a remonstrance against the admission of Texas, as a Slave State, and thus threw the weight of their influence against even the utterance of a word of protest against this giant crime! The Representative of Boston in Congress, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, has on more than one occasion announced it as his political creed, that "the Union, however bounded," is to be maintained and defended! It is but too evident that an influential, if not a numerous, portion of the Whig party in Massachusetts, are tired of being under the ban of the Slaveholding Whigs, and are desirous of gaining, by any submissions, a full restoration to the bosom of the Whig Church Universal. The penance that is to wash out the sins of Massachusetts against Slavery has not yet been fully pronounced. Perhaps nothing more than unquestioning submission in time to come to all its behests will be required. Whether the mass of the people are prepared to walk through this valley of Humiliation, or not, for such an object, remains to be seen.

Remonstrances with nearly fifty thousand signatures, obtained within a very short time, were forwarded to Congress, as the result of this agitation. That it was of no avail, we know. That it would be of any avail was probably not expected by many who partook in the movement. Their guid-

ing principle seemed to be a conscientious desire to do what they could, even though they believed their labors would be fruitless, to save the nation from this guilt and shame ; and, at any rate, to free their own souls from any participation in it. The movement, notwithstanding its ill success, cannot be justly regarded as a failure, since it was the means of awakening, to a considerable extent, the attention of the people to their own implication in the crime of Slaveholding, both in its effects on the rights of its immediate victims, and on their own ; and also of bringing together, in a combined effort, many individuals of widely differing views on other subjects, but who were of one mind as to the fatal nature of Slavery.

There are many in the land, whose eyes, sealed in a wilful or in a judicial blindness, refused to see this danger, till it was too late ; and could hardly be persuaded that the bolt impended, until it had fallen upon their heads. To whomsoever else this event was unexpected, the intelligent Abolitionists of the country were well prepared for it. At every one of our successive gatherings, since the project of Annexation was first broached, has our warning voice been uplifted, entreating the people not to be deceived in this behalf. At times when universal security seemed to pervade the country, we have proclaimed that the scheme would never be abandoned, and that, unless an opposition of unexampled unanimity and vigor were presented to it by the North, it would be successful. We had watched too long, and knew too well, the wily and desperate nature of the Slave interest, to be deceived by any apparent relaxation of its wishes, or its efforts, to accomplish a measure vital to its own existence. We cannot but feel that, as far as our influence has extended, and our voice reached, we have been faithful in this matter to our country, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But the deed is done. The catastrophe is over. The destruction has overtaken us. A revolution has taken place of mightier moment than that which severed the tie binding the



youthful colonies to the mother-country. The institutions which our Fathers established, for the preservation of liberty, are now in form, as they have been long in effect, overthrown, burying the hopes of the Slave, and the rights of the free, beneath the ruins. Like the adept in the romance, in breathing the breath of life into the creature of their own hands, they mingled with it an element which has transformed it into a demon, to make a mockery of the very purposes of its creation, and to pursue and destroy those they loved the best. In the emphatic language of Mr. GIDDINGS, just uttered in the ears of Congress, "the Union founded by our fathers has been subverted, and a new Slave-holding confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion the balance of power, and subjecting the free labor of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a Slave-holding oligarchy!" That this is literally true, is obvious from the fact that this act gives to the Slave-power a clear majority of four votes in the Senate; thus placing the entire and absolute control of the legislation and policy of the country in its hands. And when we reflect that this Slave-power resides in a compact aristocracy, not probably much exceeding in numbers ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND voting men, we may well curse the folly of our fathers who bequeathed this inheritance to us, and marvel at the patience of the seventeen millions of their sons who consent to abide by it.

But the end is not yet. We are assured that the vast territory of Texas can furnish forty States of the size of Massachusetts. As fast, therefore, as the locust swarms of Slavery light upon and blast successive portions of that virgin soil, State after State, with a constitution in her hand, like that of Texas, "securing in the most clear and nervous manner the rights of the master to the slave," will demand, and with justice, admission to the confederacy. And when this destiny is accomplished, and when the last of the daughters of the young

Republic of the Southwest is gathered into our bosom, she will point to the broad plains of Mexico,—the fruitful mother of future States,—and, like the prophetic phantom of Banquo's descendant, will come "bearing a glass, which shows us many more!"

It is yet too soon to predict the consequences of this momentous event. The ink is yet scarcely dried of the signature that authenticated the dark and ominous deed. An interval of guilt and silence succeeds to the stormy agitation that heralded it. Whether this repose, on the part of the opposers of the measure, is only a breathing space to enable them to put forth their energies with a new vigor for the redemption of their country from her disgrace, and themselves from their political serfdom; or whether it evinces but a weak and criminal despondency, that despairs of the Republic, and yields a slavish submission to the ascendant tyranny; can be disclosed by time alone. Futurity only, though perhaps a near futurity, can tell whether there is yet virtue and manliness enough in the nation to shake off their shameful vassalage, or whether it is destined to add another instance to those already recorded on the page of history, of a Republic sinking beneath the weight of its own selfishness and crime, and a fresh example,

"How nations sink, by darling schemes oppressed,  
When Vengeance listens to the fool's request."

If there be indeed spirit and virtue enough left in the people to resent this outrage on their own rights, as well as on the rights of Humanity, and to resist the further aggressions of the encroaching power of Slavery, the annexation of Texas may prepare them for the only measure by which they can effectually do either the one or the other. We need scarcely say, to this audience, that we mean, **THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EXISTING UNION OF THESE STATES.**

In this alone lies the last hope of the Northern States, for real independence and self-government. The Constitution, and whatever of protection it may have been supposed to afford to Northern rights, being trampled under foot, and the nominal balance of power, which had been vouchsafed in the long established mode of admitting new States to the Union, being turned in favor of Slavery by the insulting sword of the conqueror, the North may perhaps learn that "*Væ Victis*"—wo to the vanquished—is the just and necessary watchword of such a victory. Already the great West, whose consent to the Annexation of Texas was purchased by the promise of the simultaneous acquisition of Oregon, is beginning to discover that the chivalry of the South, who were willing enough, for their own purposes, to plunge the country into a war with Mexico, which would be mainly waged with Northern commerce, are ready to break their word of promise to the ear and to the hope, rather than risk a collision with the chief consumer of their cotton, and tremble at the prospect of black regiments carrying a crusade for liberty, under the red-cross of St. George, into the heart of their plantations. And it seems by no means impossible, that the Slaveholders, in their gamesome mood of triumph, may play such fantastic tricks with their favorite toy of the Tariff, as to arouse the Almighty Dollar to put forth its omnipotence, and unseal the eyes even of Northern manufacturers. Upon such assistances as these we may confidently rely in our agitation of the question of Disunion. The deliverance of the North may yet be derived from the very excesses of the South. And the philosophical historian of a future day may discern, as he traces the downfall of Slavery to the remote causes, that its supporters might date the destruction of their cherished institution from the hour when the curse of Texas was granted to their prayers.

## HAÏTI.

The distracted state of this interesting island has within the last year afforded new food for the dreams of Southern Annexationists. The unhappy contest between the French and the Spanish parts of the island, which has been falsely represented as a war of colors, has suggested to the ever watchful guardians of Slavery, that at least an argument could be extracted from it against the capacity of the African race for self-government, if it did not furnish an opportunity for the re-establishment of the beneficial influences of Slavery under the auspices of the Anglo-Saxon race. Accordingly, an agent of the name of HOGAN was despatched thither by President TYLER to observe, if not to foment, the intestine distractions of the inhabitants, and to make a report of his espial. It is believed to have been satisfactorily ascertained, on semi-official and uncontradicted authority, that this envoy made a report to President POLK, in favor of the recognition of the independence of the Dominican, or Spanish, portion of the island; — that overtures were made by the authorities of that department, through him, to the Government of the United States, on this subject, which, in the opinion of the observers, had a looking towards future Annexation; and that this project has excited a lively interest in all slaveholding coteries. It has been asserted, moreover, that attempts are making to enlist men in the United States, to carry on the war between the Dominicans and the Haïtians. It was fully expected that Mr. POLK would make some developement of this plan in his Annual Message; and his silence on the subject seems to imply that the pear is not yet ripe, or at least that the people of the United States are not yet thought ready to pluck it.

Whether any speedy attempt to realize these golden dreams will be made, cannot now be predicted. But it may be con-

fidently affirmed, that nothing but the absolute impossibility of success will divert the cupidity of the slaveholders from so tempting a prey, when once indicated to their pursuit. But the adventurers in such a game would do well to reflect that they would have a very different foe to encounter than that which opposed their larceny of Texas, in a people nerved by half a century of freedom, who, even in their first sacrifices to Liberty, offered up to her, as a holocaust, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, and the flower of the army of Italy, and who are ever prepared to burn their cities and retire to their mountain fastnesses, at the first approach of an enslaving invader.

But the ardor of slave-holding passion for new territory, over which to extend and confirm the blessings of Slavery, is not to be satisfied by the remote prospect of the possession of the Queen of the Antilles. Already, as soon as the Annexation resolutions had passed the Senate, Mr. LEVY, of Florida, moved that the President be requested to negotiate with Spain for the purchase of Cuba! This motion was subsequently withdrawn, as premature, at the request of those who would be no enemies to the measure; but it did its work, in implanting the idea in the public mind, which its friends believe time will ripen to a new harvest of Annexation. It is asserted, and with good grounds of probability, that Mr. SLIDELL, the new Slaveholding ambassador to Mexico, is empowered to negotiate for the purchase of California, and that it is intended to buy the consent of Great Britain to this acquisition of a territory which may be made the prey of Slavery, by the bribe of her chosen portion of Oregon, a country whose parallels of latitude forever forbid the approach of its desolating footsteps. Already does the prophetic eye of Southern statesmen behold the star-spangled banner waving in mockery over new nations of slaves, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Potomac to the Isthmus of Darien, and thickly peopling the whole Archipelago of islands which gem the borders of the Western Continent. And such dreams are not

the fantastic creations of a diseased imagination. After the victory they have just achieved, if it be tamely submitted to by the North, they have no reason to anticipate any serious opposition, on this Continent, to their schemes of conquest. But it is to be hoped that the humanity of Christendom, and the Civilization of the Age, will interfere between these beautiful visions and their literal fulfilment.

#### FLORIDA.

Since we last met together, another jewel has been added to the coronet of Slavery by the erection of Florida into a sovereign State. The young territory of Iowa having attained, in a few short years, to the fulness of strength, presented herself at the Capitol, with a constitution in her hand forbidding the existence of Slavery within her borders, and demanded the freedom of the guild of the General Government. The territory of Florida offered her early decrepitude, as an offset to the vigorous youth of the hardy daughter of the West, and in evidence of her worthiness of such a fellowship, she held forth a Constitution which expressly denied to her Legislature the power ever to abolish slavery, but conferring upon it, in open subversion of the Constitution of the country, the right to prevent the immigration of free citizens of other States, if "the sun had looked upon them and they were black." The policy which has been employed ever since the famous Missouri Compromise, of refusing admission to a Free State, unless it entered hand and hand with a Slave State, was not neglected at this crisis. All attempts which were made to sever the links that united these two in a common fate, were fruitless. Nor was this all. The modest provision was inserted in the act of admission, that when the Eastern division of Florida attained to a population of thirty thousand souls, it should be erected into a separate State,



while no such grace was extended to the less favored child. This, however, was too much even for the Congress of Annexation to bear, and this provision was struck out by a large majority.

The bill came before the House on the 13th of February, when Mr. MORSE, of Maine, moved as an amendment, that Florida should not be admitted until the article just mentioned had been stricken from her Constitution, and defended his proposition with spirit and ability. It was rejected, however, by a vote of EIGHTY-SEVEN to SEVENTY-SEVEN. Mr. KING, of New York, then moved the admission of Iowa alone. But this was rejected. And the bill was finally passed by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIVE yeas to THIRTY-FOUR nays. All of the Massachusetts delegation, that were present, voted in the negative, with the exception of Mr. PARMENTER.

The bill came before the Senate for concurrence, on March 1st, and Mr. EVANS, of Maine, moved as an amendment, that Florida should not be admitted until she had altered her constitution and her laws, so as to allow the equal rights of colored seamen with other citizens. After a debate of some duration, in which the speakers on either side were divided in opinion according to their residence north or south of Mason's and Dixon's line, the amendment was lost by a vote of TWELVE to THIRTY-FIVE. The bill then passed by a vote of THIRTY-SIX yeas to NINE nays.

If is worthy of remark, that, in consequence of the refusal of Iowa to accept the terms of admission, the weight of the slaveholding votes of Florida in the Senate is not counterpoised by those of her Senators. So that, at the present session, when the Senators of Texas are in their places, Slavery will have a clear majority of *four* votes, against Liberty.

## THE SOUTH.

It is not to be wondered at, in the view of the triumphs of the Slave Power, which we have been recounting, that the South should exult in her successes, and exalt her horn against the humbled North. It is but natural that the Slaveholders should feel disposed to press their advantage to the very limits of the endurance of the inhabitants of the Free States. Such is the condition of human nature, that the tyrant will ever rejoice in the humiliation of his vassals, and tighten their chains at every fresh instance of passive endurance. This cup Slavery is filling to the brim for us, and it will not pass away until we have drained it to the dregs, or have summoned spirit enough to dash it to the earth.

In our last Report, which went fully into the treatment of Mr. HOAR at the hands of South Carolina, we could only state that Mr. HUBBARD, the agent of Massachusetts for New Orleans, had been compelled to return with his mission defeated. That gentleman was driven, or rather retired in well-grounded apprehension of compulsion, from the State, declaring that he found it impossible to execute his mission. The Legislature of Louisiana, with all convenient speed, passed laws making a repetition of this interference with her "internal police," a highly penal offence. Her example, and that of South Carolina, who preceded her in this preventive legislation, was followed by some of the other Southwestern States; so that the dignity of the domestic institution may be considered, now, as amply vindicated from the treasonable assault of Massachusetts upon it. The majesty of Southern law is triumphant. The fears of the chivalry are allayed, and General QUATLEBUM has rest to his soul.

Through this infamous defiance of the Constitution of the United States, and of the commonest rights of hospitality and of humanity, it is certain that many humble and useful citizens

of the Free States, have been obstructed in their honest avocations, and have suffered imprisonment and outrage for no crime, but their complexion ; it is probable that some have been consigned to a life-long servitude. But Slavery is impartial where the defence of her own privileges are concerned, and fresh victims have been seized and punished on suspicion of assisting in the escape of fugitives from the house of bondage. Words and looks of pity are now contraband in the Southern States, and they may be bestowed only at the peril of the giver. Indeed, no man is safe from judicial or popular violence, who exercises his constitutional privilege of using his citizenship, in a Slave State, and who is not ready to utter the most servile of the shibboleths of Slavery. If suspicion is aroused against him, where every eye is full of suspicion, there is no protection for him in the name of citizen, or in the safeguards of the Constitution ; he may, in very possible cases, have to choose between falling down and worshipping the national idol and being thrown into the hottest furnace of fanatical persecution. And it is just that it should be so. If the strong tamely suffer the weak and the helpless, those for whose protection civil government, in theory at least, was mainly established, to be treated as if there were no rights and no Constitution securing them, they have no just reason to complain when the same measure is meted to themselves. The more impartially the South bestows its injuries, the less distinction it makes in the distribution of its wrongs, between the white and the black, the bond and the free, the more hope is there that an adequate spirit of resistance may be roused which shall end them all together.

But black and lowering as the Southern skies still are, there are not wanting occasional gleams of light which are the harbingers of a happier day. Symptoms are manifested, from time to time, and at distant points, of a growing discontent on the part of the white population of the Slave States who are not slaveholders. This class of people stand, perhaps,

nearer to the slaves in the virtual privation of civil, if not personal freedom, than any other inhabitants of the country. They are made to feel every day and every hour that they are in the presence of an overshadowing aristocracy. Whatever may be the flatteries of demagogues, on the eve of elections, they feel that their condition is despised, their labor disgraceful, and their endeavors to improve their condition obstructed. The more intelligent among them are beginning to attribute this state of things to its true cause. In Maryland and Virginia, as well as in Kentucky, the subject is openly discussed in the public prints; and in Virginia there seems to be every prospect of a successful attempt to break down the principle of Slave-representation, which has placed the political power of the South in the hands of the Slaveholders, at the convention which is soon to assemble for the revision of the Constitution. In Tennessee and Missouri, and even in North Carolina, there have been symptoms of this growing disaffection. The painful contrast which the Slave States, which border on the Free, afford to their neighbors in wealth, population and intelligence, is beginning to be more deeply felt, and more generally attributed to its real origin. Here we perhaps discern the first workings of an element, which may ere long be seen entering largely into the solution of the great problem of practical Emancipation.

#### CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Among all these hopeful auguries, arising to us from the thick darkness which hangs over the Slave States, that afforded by the movement of CASSIUS M. CLAY, in Kentucky, must be regarded as by far the most signal and the most conspicuous. For a long time the friends of Freedom throughout the country had been watching with anxious curiosity to see whether the course which this gentleman had only begun

would be persevered in and consistently carried out. The boldness of his denunciation of the Slave system, and his fearless exposure of its evils, enforced by his emancipation of his own hereditary slaves, had attracted the attention, not only of Abolitionists, but of the country, to his career. Its onward progress has certainly been no less interesting and instructive than its commencement. In January he issued an address to the people of Kentucky, in which he set forth in eloquent and emphatic language the evils which Slavery had entailed upon Kentucky, and drew a glowing contrast of the difference between her estate and that of the Free States around her. He depicted the dependent condition of the poor white population, and declared that experience had proved the incompatibility of Slavery and popular education. He concluded by earnest appeals to the people to take instant measures to procure the removal of this curse from the soil.

Early in June Mr. CLAY began, at Lexington, the publication of the "True American," a weekly paper, devoted to the cause of Gradual Emancipation in Kentucky. It was characterized by the same bold and energetic spirit, which had marked his previous public action on Slavery. Its appearance excited a very general attention, and it was sustained by a large subscription list in the Free States, as well as in Kentucky. It was hardly to be expected, however, that such an enterprise could be carried on, with earnestness and resolution, in the heart of a Slave State, without exciting a deep and bitter opposition. Accordingly, when about ten numbers had appeared, symptoms of impatience began to manifest themselves, which soon took a palpable shape. At the time selected for the commencement of the attack upon his paper, Mr. CLAY was suffering from a typhoid fever, which prevented him from making any forcible resistance, could he have judged such resistance feasible or prudent, under the circumstances of the case. A small meeting was held on the 15th of August, which appointed a committee to communicate to him a reso-

lution requesting him to discontinue the True American, "as dangerous to the peace of our community and to the safety of our homes and families." To this demand Mr. CLAY replied with a refusal, couched in burning words of indignation and contempt. The meeting was then adjourned to the 18th of August. In the mean time Mr. CLAY issued an address, explaining the nature of his plan of emancipation (combining the principles of gradualism and compensation), and denying that he had ever used language of a nature to excite insurrection among the slaves. On the appointed day a numerous multitude assembled, who, stimulated by an inflammatory speech from THOMAS F. MARSHALL, a personal enemy of Mr. CLAY's, (and encouraged by the presence and approving words of ex-Governor Metcalfe,) resolved that "the press should stop," which they would effect "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must." To carry out this determination, a committee of sixty, of which Mr. JAMES B. CLAY, a son of HENRY CLAY, (who retired on the day previous to that fixed upon for this outrage on his kinsman and ardent supporter, to partake of the festivities of a neighboring watering-place), was a personal member, for the purpose of taking possession of the press and sending it beyond the limits of the State. This duty they triumphantly performed, and sent it, subject to the order of its owner, to Cincinnati. After this gallant exploit the committee reported their success, and the meeting adjourned, flushed with victory, and hoping that they had now given its *quietus* to this dangerous agitation.

But what are the hopes of man! To their astonishment they found that they had only given to it a new impulse. A strong sensation was created in Kentucky, itself, and men began earnestly to inquire what this new thing was which it was so dangerous that they should know. A public meeting was immediately held in Cincinnati, to take measures for the safe-keeping of the press, and to express their sympathy with Mr. CLAY, and their indignation at the injurious treatment he had.

received. To these expressions of regard, Mr. CLAY replied in a letter which breathed a resolute and unbroken spirit; denied the calumnious assertion that he had offered to discontinue the paper, if his property were spared; and declared that, "as to his press, his motto of God and Liberty should never be struck," and that "it was for those who fight for the wrong to despair in defeat." Public meetings were held in many other places to express their sense of this outrage on the liberty of the press. The effect of this act of violence, therefore, was such as all acquainted with the nature of the human mind, or with the history of reformations, knew to be inevitable, to make the injured party grasp his principles with a firmer hand, and to give him a yet wider field and a better opportunity to disseminate them.

It was not long before Mr. CLAY fulfilled the pledge, implied in his answer to the Cincinnati resolutions, and in about two months after the suppression of the *True American*, it made its twelfth appearance, containing a long "appeal," in which he put on record the history of the base transactions of the 18th of August, defended his own conduct, and showed to the non-slaveholders of Kentucky that they were virtually enslaved. He concluded with a hope that what he had suffered, and what he might yet suffer, would "arouse in the bosom of Americans, an honorable shame and a magnanimous remorse, which would lead to the peaceful overthrow of the slave-despotism of this nation." These are the concluding words of this admirable paper: "To the liberty of my country and of mankind, then, I dedicate myself, and those whom I hold most dear, — and for the purity of my motives and the patriotism of my life, — the past and the future, — I appeal to Kentucky and to the world!"

This brief history is full of instructions. It shows the falsehood of the assertion that Kentucky was ready for a prospective manumission of her slaves, at the time the cry of Immediate Emancipation was raised, and that it is owing to the

Anti-Slavery agitation that measures were not long ago commenced for Gradual Abolition. It gives the lie to the assertion that it was because the movement against Slavery was commenced in the Free States, that the slaveholders had clung yet closer to the system, out of their lofty scorn of foreign dictation. It contradicts the assertion that the angry resistance of the slaveholders to the demands of Anti-Slavery that they should relieve their victims, was mainly attributable to its harsh language, and stern denunciations. Here was a native-born citizen of Kentucky, a slaveholder by birth and education, bearing one of the most honored of her historical names, no stranger and alien, — and yet what was his treatment at the hands of his fellow-citizens, for endeavoring to do them good and not evil? He was no fanatical abolitionist, he did not denounce the Slaveholder as a sinner because of his slaveholding, he attacked the system rather than its supporters, he asked only for Gradual Emancipation, and offered the bribe of compensation, and were they any the more willing to listen to his words? Here is sufficient proof, had any been wanting, that the opposition of Slaveholders and their abettors, to the Anti-Slavery movement, is not because they want to abolish Slavery in their own chosen way, nor because the delicate sensitiveness of their honor shrinks from the interposition of strangers, nor because their ears are shocked by the unyielding testimony and plainness of speech of the Abolitionists; but because they love Slavery for its own sake, and are resolved never to abandon it, as long as it makes them, not merely the absolute masters of the blacks, but the political lords of the whites.

Though we dissent from the positions taken by Mr CLAY, in his warfare with Slavery, and are more than ever convinced by his own experiences as well as by the pregnant histories of every succeeding year, that Slavery is to be attacked effectually only by treating it as a *malum in se*, and demanding, as in the case of every other crime, an immediate cessa-



tion from it, as the only true morality and the only just expediency ; still we hold him to deserve the highest honor for his courageous and generous assertion of human liberty in the midst of trials and dangers that might well daunt a less intrepid spirit. We believe that a further experience will convince him that Slavery is "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked," and that one of its most hateful features is, the ruin which it makes of the most ingenuous and noble natures ; that he will perceive it to be a crime against God and humanity, by whomsoever perpetrated, which ought to be immediately abandoned ; and will discern that compensation, if made at all, is due to the Slave rather than to the Master. We think it not too much to affirm that it is the faithful and uncompromising testimony which the Abolitionists have borne to these truths, and to whatever other truths naturally flow from them, in the ears of an unwilling generation, for the last fifteen years, which has created that public sentiment in the free States, which is now Mr. CLAY's chief moral support. And perhaps it is to these very hated testimonies, and to the agitation they have excited, that Mr. CLAY, and his country, owe the formation and developement of his own Anti-Slavery character. We are confident, moreover, that he will see with us, before our common object is attained, that it is not to be accomplished by any management of political machinery of which the Slaveholders possess the absolute control as long as it exists in its present shape ; but that the deliverance of the Slave, and the honor and safety of the nominally free, can only be achieved by THE ABROGATION OF THE EXISTING NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PRESENT UNION OF THESE STATES,—by the adoption, and consistent carrying out, of the present Anti-Slavery watchword — " NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

In the hope that Mr. CLAY will yet see eye to eye with us on these points, and that we shall yet be found fighting

shoulder to shoulder with him in this holy warfare, we cordially bid him God speed in the agitation which he has so nobly begun and so fearlessly carried forward. When we can act together, consistently with the honest difference in our opinions, we shall be ever ready to tender to him our cordial sympathy and our helping hands. A career opens before him which might well satisfy the highest ambition, as well as the most earnest benevolence. He has taken the lead in a revolution, which can never go backwards, and which, when complete, will fill with its blessings millions of homes and hearts, in his native State, and in the whole Southern country, and his name will be to them as one of their household words, to the end of time, if he be but faithful to the trust he has assumed. Should he survive the conflict he has invoked, and endure unto the end, he will be honored by his beloved Kentucky as the chiefest of her benefactors, and will receive from her hand a tribute of enduring gratitude, such as she has never yet bestowed upon the worthiest of her sons. And should it be his fate to fall at his post, in the hot strife of the early battle, he will leave behind him an example which will stir the hearts of his successors like the sound of a trumpet, and he will bequeath to his children a name more precious than the richest inheritance ;

“ One of the few, the immortal names,  
That were not born to die.”

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Besides the action of the Legislature of Massachusetts in the matter of Texas, which we have already related, there were other proceedings of that body worthy of Anti-Slavery remembrance. After the return of Mr. HOAR from his mission to Charleston, he made a report of his doings. Governor

BRIGGS, which was laid before the General Court. It was referred to a Joint Special Committee, of which the Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS was Chairman. This Committee reported a Declaration to the other States of the Union, "in the presence of all Christian nations, of the civilized world, and of an Omniscient all-seeing Deity," entering an "earnest and solemn Protest against the hostile acts of South Carolina." This State Paper was drawn up with admirable temper, skill and precision, setting forth the whole case, showing the reasonableness and necessity of the acts of Massachusetts, and justifying her course by forcible statements and impregnable arguments. It concluded with a solemn adjuration to the States not to permit acts which amounted to a destruction of the Constitution, to have no Constitutional redress, and an explicit statement that if such acts were tolerated, and the General Government continued to refuse redress, that Massachusetts, and other aggrieved States, had no remedy, "except by throwing herself back upon the original inherent rights of her citizens to defend themselves." While it declared that Massachusetts would delay the decision of what her remedy should be in such case, in deference to her obligations to the pacific States, still, if the outrages were repeated, and no redress afforded her, "retaliation would follow," and worse evils in its train. Though she would sacrifice much to avert the downfall of the Union, she would still do her duty to the humblest of her citizens; and would never relax in her demand for her rights as a State, or "in the exertion of her utmost energies in support of the undying principles of justice and liberty among men." This Protest was adopted and sent to the governors of all the other States, with a request to lay it before their Legislatures, and to the governor of South Carolina, unaccompanied by such a request. This measure was a dignified and proper proceeding, as Massachusetts recognised the binding force of the Constitution of the United States, and, if followed up by suitable action,

would form a suitable link in the chain of events. Had the Protest been adopted with the same sincerity with which it was draughted, and the spirit it breathed been indeed the breath of the life of the people, all would be well. But all seems to be forgotten already. Our colored seamen are still shut up in the gaol of Charleston, our agents would still be punished by law if they interfered in their behalf, and we shall now see whether Massachusetts, after another year of sufferance, is disposed to make it the badge of all her tribe, in all time to come, or whether she is disposed to redeem the pledge made in her Protest to do her duty to her people. We fear that her policy on this and kindred subjects will be marked by "a wise and masterly inactivity." But most happy shall we be to find our forebodings contradicted by the result.

An order was also adopted, declaring that Massachusetts demands, and will continue to demand, that the General Government make such change in the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts, or such provisions by law, as will enable any citizen debarred of his liberty, on account of his color, to have a remedy in the laws of the United States; and requesting our Senators and Representatives to lose no opportunity of urging this subject upon the consideration of Congress. We have not learned that any such opportunity has, as yet, been found or improved.

Subsequently to the action of the last Congress, relative to the Annexation of Texas, Mr. WILSON, of Middlesex, presented an order that the Judiciary Committee should prepare a bill declaring that any slave escaping from Texas to Massachusetts should be protected in his rights, and making it a penal offence to molest or attempt to recapture him; on the ground that Massachusetts does not recognize Texas as one of the United States, nor entitled to the benefits of the Constitution. The Committee reported that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject. Mr. WILSON moved the re-

committal of the order with instructions to report a bill, and urged the measure in a speech of much earnestness and ability. But the Senate refused to recommit by a large majority. This refusal to perform an act, perfectly reasonable and justifiable in the position Massachusetts had assumed, gives but too much cause to apprehend that the brave words uttered by her on this subject, and others affecting her rights, are but so much empty sound signifying nothing.

The right of the colored inhabitants of the State to equal advantages of instruction with the whites also came before the last General Court. The School Committees, in the exercise of their sovereign power, have seen fit in certain towns either to establish separate schools for colored children, and to require them to attend those schools or none, or else have made such local regulations as amounted in effect to the same separation on account of complexion. It is believed that the Supreme Court would decide that the laws of the State contemplate no distinction between its citizens, founded on color; but there was no way in which the point could be brought before them for adjudication. Accordingly a bill was carried through, though not without opposition, giving to any child deprived of the equal advantages of the public schools, in any town, a right of action by his next friend, against the town. The success of this measure was largely owing to the untiring exertions of Messrs. SHAW and GARDNER, of Nantucket, who devoted themselves to the work of carrying it through the General Court with praiseworthy zeal and perseverance. We are not aware that any action has yet been brought under its provisions, but we cannot doubt what the decision of the Supreme Court would be, if the question be presented to them.

It may be mentioned here that an attempt was made last Summer in Boston to destroy this source of prejudice. A Petition was presented to the School Committee, from colored citizens, praying that "separate schools for colored children be abolished — and the said children permitted to attend

the schools in their several districts." This question excited a good deal of discussion in the community, as well as in the Committee. It came up for final determination in a special meeting of the Committee, June the 19th, when, after the rights of the colored people had been maintained with much spirit by the Rev. Messrs. PATTON and STEDMAN, Mr. A. J. WRIGHT, Dr. C. A. PHELPS and Dr. BOWDITCH, the Committee decided that it was inexpedient to grant the prayer of the petitioners, by a vote of FIFTY-FIVE to TWELVE. It is but justice to say that the honor of this attempt to remove this cause and effect of prejudice from this city, is mainly due to Dr. HENRY I. BOWDITCH, whose zeal and industry in the cause were untiring. The chief opposer of the change was Mr. JOHN C. PARK, who in his place in the Senate, a short time before, had given his weight against the passage of the law just described, in its most effective form, and who has always distinguished himself, on all fitting occasions, as the organ of the pro-slavery spirit, and the hatred of color, which yet lingers in the community.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

During the past year this State, which has been long looked upon as the stronghold of Southern principles in Northern latitudes, has been visited by a wholesome agitation, coming from a quarter whence it was least expected. When the question of Annexation was agitating the public mind, the Hon. JOHN P. HALE, one of the Representatives from New Hampshire, then a candidate for re-election, addressed a letter to his constituents, in which he gave his reasons for departing from the policy of his party, on this point, and opposing the Annexation of Texas into the Union. His letter contained a conclusive and well-reasoned argument on the unconstitutionality of the measure, fortified by quotations

from the formerly expressed opinions of the oracles of Democracy; but it placed the main objection against the act on the impregnable ground of its necessary and avowed tendency to extend and perpetuate Slavery. This letter produced a strong excitement throughout New Hampshire and the country. Mr. HALE was at once denounced as a recreant Democrat by the leaders of the Party, and every description of abuse heaped upon his head. A new Convention was called, and another candidate selected in his stead. But though the leading influences of the party were thus ready to sacrifice him for his fidelity to liberty, there was a large portion of the masses who refused to obey their dictation. Mr. HALE has addressed large popular meetings in various parts of the State, and has thus been the means of disseminating knowledge on the subject of Texas and Slavery, which was sedulously hidden from the eyes of the people by the self-constituted keepers of their consciences. Several elections have been held without success; and, from present appearances, it seems very doubtful whether a majority of the people can be dragooned or coaxed into appointing as their Representative the nominee of Slavery. Had the Whigs of New Hampshire been willing to drop their minor differences of opinion, and to unite with the better part of the Democracy in a common testimony to the great principles which were the true issue of the contest, Mr. HALE would have been triumphantly elected, the pseudo Democracy would have been rebuked, and perhaps a revolution effected in the politics of the State which would have delivered it from its disgraceful vassalage to the Slave Power. But, even as it is, incalculable good has unquestionably been done by this breach in the solid columns of the pro-slavery Democracy of New Hampshire, and it is not likely that it will ever again be able to present an unbroken front, as of old, by the side of its "natural ally."

## NEW YORK.

An interesting question is now attracting public attention in the State of New York. By the existing Constitution the right of suffrage is confined to whites, and to colored persons possessing a certain property qualification. A Convention being proposed for the amendment of the Constitution, it was soon suggested that this was a provision loudly calling for attention. The Democratic party were, or pretended to be, so much in fear of this threatened pollution of the right of suffrage, by accepting a ballot from a black as well as from a white hand, that some of their presses urged the people to vote against the calling of the Convention, lest it might be incurred. The Convention, however, has been called. The elections of delegates will, doubtless, to a considerable extent, turn upon this point. It is to be hoped that there will be enough found in the ranks of both parties who really feel the love of human rights they both equally profess, and of Abolitionists who stand aloof from either party, to turn the scale, and to expunge this disgraceful monument of a vanished Slavery from the archives of the Empire State.

## ENGLAND.

The attention of the English nation, both politicians and people, has been anxiously directed towards this country, during the past year, watching the course of our public policy with a curious eye. The contempt which our Slavery, Lynch Law, Annexation and Repudiation had brought upon our national character, has not been diminished by the vapoing spirit and bullying tone which our rulers have seen fit to indulge on the subject of Oregon. This question is yet unset-



tled, and England is making silent preparations to vindicate what she conceives to be her rights by the sword, in the last resort. It is not at all probable, however, that she will be compelled to this ultimate argument. The Slave-holders are now supreme in the Senate of the United States, by an actual numerical majority, and it is not probable that they will lay waste their cotton plantations, and invite by their weakness and hostile domestic population the invasion of an emancipating army, for the sake of giving free territory to the North. A war with England they fear too truly would be a lever of Emancipation. And the risk of such a war we do not think they would incur, unless it were for territory fitted to enjoy the blessings of Slavery. The promise of the whole of Oregon was extended to the West to bribe her to consent to their acquisition of Texas; that being now secured, England will be propitiated to ensure their quiet enjoyment of their prey.

The hostility to negro slavery, which is now become an internal element of the British character, has manifested itself on frequent occasions. The Message of President TYLER to the Senate on the African Slave Trade, in which he spoke of the condition of the Africans liberated by the British cruisers, in the West India Islands, as no better than that of slaves, was the subject of discussion in the House of Commons. Mr. ALDANE, member for Leeds, called the attention of Sir ROBERT PEEL to the Message in a spirit of just indignation. The prime minister stated the exact state of the case, that the liberated Africans were absolutely their own masters, as soon as they touched the British dominions, and expressed his surprise that the President should have made so gross a misstatement, without inquiry into the facts.

In a speech on the Sugar Question, the Rt. Hon. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY took occasion to expose and denounce the horrors and enormities of American Slavery and of the

internal Slave Trade, with a severity and eloquence worthy of his own fame and of the great Anti-Slavery name he bears. His political and literary celebrity secured to it an extensive perusal in the United States, and its influence and beneficent effect extended over a much wider field than he probably dreamed of, at the time he uttered it. The audience of a British Senator is not limited by the walls of the House of Commons, — it is co-extensive with the nations which speak the English tongue; and the blessing or the rebuke of his burning words, though spoken on the Thames, resound in the ears of the dwellers by the Ganges and the Mississippi.

A complimentary correspondence having taken place between the council of the Anti-Corn-Law League and Mr. McDUFFIE and Mr. CALHOUN, in which these champions of Slavery were recognized as distinguished friends of free trade, gave rise to action on the part of some of our trans-Atlantic friends honorable to their clearness of vision and singleness of heart. Mr. EDWARD S. ABDY, who is honorably known to Abolitionists as one of the few English travellers in this country who maintained their Anti-Slavery integrity, and who is one of our warmest friends and most useful correspondents, withdrew from the League, on this account, and assigned his reasons in a well-argued letter, in which he showed the inconsistency of recognizing "soul-drivers and negro-jobbers" — "the enemies of personal liberty as the friends of commercial liberty." Our faithful and untiring friend JAMES HAUGHTON, of Dublin, addressed letters of expostulation to the editor of "THE LEAGUE," and to Messrs. COBDEN and BRIGHT, the Free Trade champions in Parliament, expressing his pain at seeing the complimentary communications of the Council with "two men, whose names stand foremost among the oppressors of their race." It is a significant fact that "THE LEAGUE," the Anti-Corn-Law organ, refused to publish these letters of Mr. ABDY and Mr. HAUGHTON, thus affording the strongest acknowledgment that they were unanswerable. It is believed

that multitudes besides sympathized in these regrets, and it is to be hoped that the Council of the League will learn that the Free Trade of Slaveholders is synonymous with monopoly in human flesh.

During the last year, the Anti-Slavery cause has lost one of its most earnest and faithful friends by the death of Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., the chosen successor of Wilberforce, for many years the Anti-Slavery leader in the House of Commons. He was unwearied in his efforts to procure the abolition of West India Slavery, and it was in a great measure owing to his exertions in the House of Commons, as the representative of the Anti-Slavery spirit of the people, that it was finally effected. The mistake of his Anti-Slavery career was, his consenting to the apprenticeship system, insisted upon by the Ministry as an additional compensation to the masters. This mistake we believe no one saw more clearly, or regretted more deeply, than himself. His name will be inseparably connected with those of WILBERFORCE, SHARP, MACAULAY and other friends of the African race.

The venerable CLARKSON, in the serene and beautiful evening of his illustrious life, renews to us from year to year his words of sympathy and of counsel. Though bending beneath the weight of nearly ninety winters, his heart still glows with the ardor of youth in the great cause of human liberty. Not content with the success which has crowned his own conflict with Slavery, in his native land, he is eager to give to us the countenance of his great name and the wisdom of his long experience, in the struggle in which we are plunged. His appeals to the American people in behalf of their slaves have produced a wide and deep impression, and have summoned into the field, within the last year, the latest, and ablest, champion of Slavery, in the person of Governor HAMMOND of South Carolina. He understands the philosophy and the history of our movement, and renders justice to him who began it. "Our great cause," says the Patriarch of Anti-Slavery, speaking of

**WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON**, "our great cause is deeply indebted to him, for there was a time when it slept, and could not have been recovered, unless he had kept the flame alive." It is to him, too, that we owe the knowledge of the Anti-Slavery testimony of **LAFAYETTE**, in his latter days — "I WOULD NEVER HAVE DRAWN MY SWORD IN THE CAUSE OF AMERICA, IF I COULD HAVE CONCEIVED THAT THEREBY I WAS FOUNDING A LAND OF SLAVERY!" In an old age, which has survived the detractions and enmities of his crowded prime, he enjoys the pure triumphs of his beneficent victories, amid the unanimous veneration of the age. May it yet be long ere death shall set his seal upon his fame, and summon him from the scenes of his toils and of his glory!

We have received from our Anti-Slavery friends in England fresh assurances and proofs of their continued sympathy with us and those whose rights we maintain. Contributions, valuable for their intrinsic worth, but more valuable for the spirit of which they were the signs, enriched the tables of the Annual Bazaar, from friends in London, Bristol, Darlington, Birmingham, and many other places. We hope to deserve a continuance of their friendship and confidence by our fidelity in the great cause which is our bond of union.

#### SCOTLAND.

In Scotland the agitation which was excited by the course of the delegates of the Free Church to the United States, in receiving the money of Slaveholders for their pious uses, has by no means subsided. The demand still continues to be heard for the return of the price of blood. We entered fully into this question in our last report, and have not time to trace the history of the past year's labor in this behalf. The consistent Abolitionists of Scotland have had the assistance of our beloved friend **HENRY C. WRIGHT**, whose experience in the

warfare with Slavery at home, makes him an invaluable auxiliary in such a battle. He has been indefatigable in his labors and has been rewarded with the hatred of his antagonists and the confidence and approbation of his coadjutors. He published in the Glasgow Argus a series of letters on "the Dissolution of the American Union demanded by Justice and Humanity, as the incurable enemy of Liberty;" in which he established his position by the most irrefragable proofs. He also addressed "a letter to the Rev. Drs. CHALMERS, CANDLISH and CUNNINGHAM, on Christian fellowship with Slaveholders;" in which he exposed the absurdity and wickedness of the attempt of those ministers to cover up and palliate the sin of Slaveholding, in the clearest and most emphatic manner. Another letter "to the members of the Free Church," briefly but stringently urged upon them the duty of sending back the money obtained of Slaveholders. These letters have since been published collectively, and we trust will receive the circulation and attention which they deserve. We apprehend that the Seceding Kirk will find a correct attitude on this subject to be essential to a Church that depends for its existence on the voluntary respect and free-will offerings of the people.

The Reformed Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 30th of April, passed unanimously a series of resolutions in reference to American Slavery and Church-fellowship with Slaveholders, which were of the most thorough and uncompromising character. They covered the whole ground, and might serve as a model for consistent Church action upon Slavery.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society have continued their zealous and useful labors, without cessation or weariness. Wherever there has been a testimony needed, their vigilant eyes have marked the necessity, and their faithful voices have uplifted it before the world. It would be impossible for us to enumerate the occasions on which they have uttered the needful word, at the moment it was wanted. Among their other good works they have published an address "on the Amer-

ican Board of Foreign Missions, and the Rev. Dr. Chalmers on Christian-fellowship with Slaveholders, to Christians of all denominations, but especially to the Free Church." The topics of this address may be inferred from its title, but it should be read to do justice to the manner in which they are handled. They have also prepared a Memorial and Remonstrance to the Office-bearers and members of the Protestant Churches in America, expressing their sense of the sin of Slavery, of the duty of refusing Church-fellowship to those who practice or tolerate it, and their sympathy with those Churches that had withdrawn such fellowship. This memorial they took means to have extensively signed for the purpose of being transmitted to this country. It is a just source of satisfaction and encouragement to know that we have the approbation and assistance of such spirits in our difficult conflict with Slavery.

To the women of Scotland, particularly those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, we again offer our cordial thanks, in the Slave's behalf, for the labor of their hands freely given for his sake. The Anti-Slavery Bazaar was indebted to them for many of its choicest treasures, possessing a value not to be estimated in money, as the proofs of their devotion to the cause of them that have no helper. They neither need, nor ask for, the reward of our thanks, for what was but a relief to their own hearts and consciences. But we can assure them that the unselfish motives of their labor are fully appreciated by us, and that its fruits shall be applied, with the most conscientious fidelity, to the purpose for which it was bestowed, — the advancement of our common cause.

#### IRELAND.

The Abolitionists, and the people of Ireland, have given us, during the past year, renewed and increased proofs of their

sympathy with us and their abhorrence of Slavery. Their words of protest and remonstrance have been uttered against its abominations, in public and private. On the 4th of August, at a meeting of the Repeal Association, Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL, M. P., eldest son of the Liberator, vindicated his hereditary hatred of oppression, by an eloquent and fervid denunciation of Slavery, worthy of the son of O'CONNELL. It called forth a defender of the Slaveholders in a Mr. SCOTT, one of the exceptions, it is to be hoped, which form the general rule of Irish Abolitionism, who undertook to censure Mr. O'CONNELL for introducing the subject on that platform, and thus obstructing the free course of Slaveholders' funds into the treasury. This gave Mr. O'CONNELL a fresh occasion to repeat and enforce his positions in a yet more indignant strain of eloquence, which appears to have carried his audience enthusiastically along with him. This speech was extensively read in this country, and encouraged the hearts of the foes, while it enraged those of the friends, of the infernal slave system.

We have been in frequent and profitable communication with our Anti-Slavery Irish friends, whose assistance and sympathies are ever seeking new forms of expression and fresh channels of communication. Their enlarged philanthropy and far-reaching philosophy teach them the folly, as well as the narrowness, of the doctrine that would limit their sympathy and their efforts to the wrongs and the redemption of their own oppressed countrymen. They scorn and repudiate the base and servile spirit that pronounces the condition of the Irish peasant, or the English laborer, to be equally degraded with that of the American Slave. They see plainly that the gulf which separates their Sovereign from the meanest of her subjects, is not so vast or so impassable, as the abyss which is fixed between that humble freeman and the most favored of the American bondmen. They know that the most abject beggar in Ireland, the most wretched of the starving operatives of England, would spurn as an insult a proposition to exchange

his condition for that of the "fattest and sleekest" of the slaves of HENRY CLAY. They perceive that the existence of American Slavery is the chief obstruction to the progress of liberal principles and of wise reformation throughout the world; and that they cannot expend their energies better, even on the attainment of their domestic ends, than to put them forth for the destruction of an institution, in a bragging Republic, which strengthens the hands and encourages the heart of tyranny everywhere. They feel that it is vain to expect the deliverance of the Irish, or of the English, laborer from his distress and debasement, so long as the laborers of half the model Republic are ranked with household stuff and beasts of burden, by the democratic despots of America. Therefore, they are sure that it is no fanatical folly, but the wisest forecast, as well as the most enlightened humanity, which leads them to extend their helping hands to the American Slave. These, we apprehend to be the just and liberal views to which we owe the steady and intelligent assistance of the true-hearted Abolitionists, not of Ireland only, but of the British Empire.

The zeal of the Anti-Slavery men and women of Ireland, as well as those of England and Scotland, was made manifest this year by their works in the shape of larger and more valuable contributions to the Massachusetts Bazaar, than even they had ever before bestowed upon it. The elegant industry of the women of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other places, adorned its tables with many of their chiefest ornaments, and largely contributed to the brilliant result of the Bazaar. In the name of the three millions of American Slaves whom we serve, we thank them for these tokens of their remembrance of them and confidence in us. In return for their still increasing munificence we can only promise to be faithful stewards of their bounty, and to endeavor with our best judgment, to employ it for the speedier downfall of American Slavery.



## FREDERIC DOUGLASS.

Our Irish friends have had the pleasure and the advantage of the assistance of our eloquent and faithful friend **FREDERIC DOUGLASS**, during part of the Summer and Autumn. He was received with the proverbial hospitality of Ireland, and welcomed in the threefold character of a Stranger, an Abolitionist and a Slave. Wherever he has been, he has met with the most cordial of receptions from all classes, who seem to have rejoiced in the opportunity to rebuke the American spirit of *caste* by their attentions to this representative of the colored man and the Slave. He has been everywhere an object of public and private hospitality; his public meetings have been thronged by enthusiastic audiences; and his influence on the Anti-Slavery feeling of Ireland is believed to have been most beneficial.

Mr. DOUGLASS, towards the close of the last Spring, published the history of his life, containing his own personal narrative of Slavery. This little book taught by examples the cruel workings of the system of Slavery, in a region where its burden is comparatively light, and the plainness of the narration and the simplicity of the style made it attractive to all classes of readers. A numerous impression was disposed of previous to Mr. DOUGLASS's departure, and it was, and will continue to be, a very helpful addition to our Anti-Slavery literature.

Mr. DOUGLASS sailed for England in the steam-packet of the middle of August. As he approached the shores of England he helped to give a new proof that men do not change their hearts by changing their climate. He was invited by Captain JUDKINS, at the request of many passengers, to deliver an Anti-Slavery address. The fidelity and force with which he portrayed the nature of Slavery, illustrated by quotations from

the Slave laws, excited the rage of Slaveholders, and their Northern abettors, and the deck of Her Majesty's mail-packet was made the scene of an American mob. Violence was threatened, if not attempted, but was promptly put down by the vigorous interposition of Captain JUDKINS. The conduct of this gentleman was such as might have been expected from a British officer, when his authority was defied on the deck of his own ship. He soon gave the rioters to understand distinctly that they were beyond the jurisdiction of Lynch Law, and out of the regions where the pistol and bowie-knife are supreme. Though the firmness of Captain JUDKINS prevented any actual bodily harm being offered to Mr. DOUGLASS, still the uproar was such that his address was drowned and shortened by it. The conduct of Captain JUDKINS in maintaining the right of Mr. DOUGLASS to speak on the subject of Slavery, in spite of the ill-manners and ruffianly behavior of his countrymen, deserved high honor, and received the universal approbation of the British public. That it drew down upon his head the vituperation of the scurrile pro-Slavery press of this country, he will only esteem as an additional proof of merit.

Mr. DOUGLASS was accompanied by our long-tried and excellent friend and colleague, JAMES N. BUFFUM, one of the Vice Presidents of this Society. This gentleman has shared in the hospitable attentions shown to Mr. DOUGLASS, and has done our cause good service by his private intercourse with our friends, and by his public addresses. These gentlemen intend visiting England and Scotland, before they return to us again, and, ill as we can spare their services at home, we cannot doubt that their visit to the British Islands will be attended by permanent benefits to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, by the formation of new links, and the strengthening of those already formed, that connect us with the friends of freedom in the mother country.

At the same time with Mr. BUFFUM and Mr. DOUGLASS,

the HUTCHINSON Family, who have so often increased the interest of our public meetings by their songs of freedom, crossed the ocean on a professional visit to England. Their Anti-Slavery melodies must help to keep alive the remembrance of the American Slave in the British mind, and to enforce his claims by this high kind of eloquence. We cordially wish them all success, and a speedy return to their former field of Anti-Slavery action.

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society held its Eleventh Anniversary in the Tabernacle, in the city of New York, on the 8th of May. It was very numerously attended and was addressed with great effect by Mr. GARRISON, the President of the Society, Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. SANDERSON, Miss HITCHCOCK, Mr. BELL, of Kentucky, Mr. GREW and Mr. DOUGLASS. The speeches were of the highest order of talent, and fitly uttered the vital principle of the Society, "NO UNION, POLITICAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL, WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

The business meetings were held immediately after the Anniversary, and lasted, in all, three days. It was a meeting of singular unanimity. There seemed to be no vexed question to divide the opinions of the members. The grave points as to what course duty to the Slave required of Abolitionists, towards the Church and towards the State, which had excited such warm discussions in times past, were all now settled in the general Anti-Slavery mind. At last, the Abolitionists of the country were brought into line against the hosts of Slavery, with no material difference of opinion as to the method or the tactics of their warfare. But though those present were generally of one mind in all important points, still there was no lack of animation and interest in the discussions. The

whole ground of Anti-Slavery duty in the Church and in the world was reviewed, and the impregnable strength of the position of the Society demonstrated. It was a meeting from which all retired comforted and encouraged.

It is a gratifying circumstance that the Treasurer, Mr. JACKSON, was able to state to the Society, that, for the first time for many years, if not since its formation, it was out of debt. The rigid economy enforced by the Executive Committee, aided by the large amount of labor performed without compensation, had enabled them to discharge all the former debts of the Society and to conduct its business entirely on the principle of cash payments. To no one person was this fortunate state of things so largely owing as to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, whose disinterested readiness to perform the triple duties of editor, assistant treasurer and office agent, for a very frugal subsistence, should entitle him to the grateful respect of all who feel an interest in the cause. It was due to the fortunate circumstance that a man was found, at this critical period, uniting to singular tact and talent as an editor, the experience and method of a man of business, who was willing to undertake this great amount of labor, in the solitude of a strange city, asking for nothing that could be called a remuneration, that the Society was so soon freed from its embarrassments and placed on a basis of justice and efficiency.

In the editorial department of the paper, Mr. GAY has had the occasional assistance of MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN and EDMUND QUINCY, whose services are, of course, wholly and strictly gratuitous. The duties of the general agency have been performed by WENDELL PHILLIPS without money and without price, as have been those of the Treasurership by FRANCIS JACKSON. These facts are mentioned, to illustrate the principle on which the cause is now conducted, with regard to the expenditure of funds. All those who have the means of subsistence from any other source, are expected to

contribute as much of their time and labor as their sense of duty demands, without any pecuniary recompense. Those who have no extrinsic means of livelihood, and whose services are indispensable to the cause, are allowed what they, in view of its necessities, consider absolutely indispensable to a bare subsistence. In this way, a very moderate sum of money is made to do a work greater than would seem to be possible in view of its amount. None are expected, or asked, to come into this enterprise with any hope of selfish advantage, — none who are not willing to spend and be spent in its service. The scanty revenue of the Slave is only to be taxed for what is necessary to procure for him the service he needs. That service is due to him as a free-will offering, wherever, and to whatever extent, it is practicable. These are the views which guide the action of this Society, as well as of the Parent Society, and we believe their justice is acknowledged by all whom they concern. And, this being the state of things, we feel free to call upon the Abolitionists to pour their gifts into the treasury of the Slave, as they must feel sure that it is for his sake, and not for our own, that we ask it.

#### NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

This annual assembly of the Abolitionists of New England, and of the country at large, again vindicated to itself the character it has long maintained of being the most interesting and attractive of all our Anti-Slavery gatherings. It was held in the Marlboro' Chapel, in Boston, on May 27th, and continued its sessions for three days. The pro-Slavery Churches and the political parties, implicated alike in the support of the Slave System, by the allegiance which they all acknowledge to the National Constitution, were again rebuked, and the Slaveholding compact, itself, freshly denounced. A

pledge was introduced and, after full discussion, adopted, binding those who took it to refuse to vote for a candidate for any office, either State or National, the entrance upon which requires an oath or affirmation to support the Government of the United States, under the existing Constitution. This pledge, together with another, recommended by this Board, by which they who took it engaged to take no part in any war that might grow out of the Annexation of Texas, were afterwards extensively circulated and signed.

The meeting was diversified by an attempt by the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, formerly Governor of Liberia, and still a Colonization Agent, to justify Slavery from the Bible, in an elaborate argument. The patience with which he was heard was a proof at once of the confidence of Abolitionists in the truth of their principles, and of the freedom of the meeting, at which even the fit representative of the inhuman principles of that atrocious conspiracy against the colored race, could be heard in their defence. The absurdity and wickedness of his positions were exposed in a masterly and scathing manner by Mr. PHILLIPS, Dr. WALTER CHANNING, and Mr. GARRISON.

The last evening of the Convention was distinguished by a riot excited by a speech of Mr. PILLSBURY, in which he exposed in temperate and chaste, though impressive, language the guilt and inconsistency of the American Church, and particularly its inferiority in practical righteousness, in the matter of human Slavery, to Catholicism and Mahometanism. The audience was immense, and the general desire was for peace, but the rioters were numerous enough to make it impossible for the speaker to be heard. But the indignation which such an outrage excited in all sorts of people, and the general discussion which it caused of the truths which had given rise to it, more than compensated for the loss of that golden opportunity. The sessions of the Convention were uniformly well attended and often crowded, and it was generally allowed to be the most attractive of all the gatherings of the Anniversary

week. It left an impression on the community, as well as on its members, such as we desire to create by our public assemblies.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of some of our agents to other fields of labor, and notwithstanding ill-health and other imperative calls have prevented much of the voluntary service, on which we commonly depend, a healthful agitation has been maintained in the State. In April, Mr. PHILLIPS, who had been our general agent, since the resignation of Mr. COLLINS, and had zealously and faithfully discharged its arduous and laborious duties, without any compensation, was compelled by circumstances beyond his control, to resign his office. Mr. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE was appointed his successor, on the 13th of May, and performed its duties in a most industrious and acceptable manner until the 12th of December, when he was succeeded, upon his resignation, by Mr. LORING MOODY, who now is the general agent of the Society. The experience which Mr. MOODY has had, and the acquaintance he has made with Abolitionists, in various parts of the State, during his agency in behalf of Captain WALKER, indicated him as a suitable person for the office. We have no doubt that he will so fill it as to deserve the confidence of the Society he represents, and to be an efficient laborer in the Anti-Slavery vineyard.

MESSRS. CHARLES LENOX REMOND, PARKER PILLSBURY, ADDISON DAVIS and WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING, have lectured in various parts of the State to much acceptance and with a good effect. We have had the advantage of the voluntary labor of Messrs. ADIN BALLOU and GEORGE W. STACY, in some portions of the State. Mr. DOUGLASS lectured with his usual assiduity (excepting when interrupted by the compo-

sition of his narrative) previous to his voyage to England. Mr. PHILLIPS and Mr. GARRISON have attended Conventions and public meetings and delivered addresses in divers places, during the year, though Mr. GARRISON's labors in the field have been diminished by impaired health, and Mr. PHILLIPS's, by other imperative demands of duty. Mr. LUNSFORD LANE was employed for some time in the Western Counties, by our faithful friend ABNER BELCHER, for Anti-Slavery purposes; and since his return home, Dr. E. D. HUDSON has been sent into the same field, by the same clear-sighted and unwearied Abolitionist. The County Societies have held their regular meetings and have produced a good effect in the region round about them. The Rev. CALEB STETSON, the Rev. THEODORE PARKER, JOHN W. BROWNE, Esq. and other gentlemen, have delivered lectures in various places, which have given much satisfaction to the Abolitionists and have done excellent service. The Anti-Texas agitation was carried on mainly on Anti-Slavery grounds, and was the means of throwing much light on the subject of Slavery upon thousands of minds. We believe that all these efforts, imperfect as they are when compared with the greatness of the object to be accomplished, have carried forward the general mind of Massachusetts to a point far in advance of where it stood a twelvemonth since.

#### JONATHAN WALKER.

We have derived signal assistance in our Anti-Slavery progress this year from the help that has been extended to us by the branded hand of JONATHAN WALKER. In our last Report we told the story of his arrest, trial and punishment for the crime of exercising hospitality to helpless fellow-men who had claimed his protection. He remained in gaol for non-payment of his fine, until the Summer, when he was



released by the interposition of Captain SMALL, who advanced out of slender means the sum necessary for his discharge. Sufficient funds for this purpose, and for all the expenses of his trial, had been raised in Massachusetts, but being imprudently committed to dishonest hands, they never were applied to their proper use. Captain WALKER arrived in Massachusetts towards the end of July, and addressed public meetings in many towns. He also prepared a narrative of his experiences, which was published at an early period, and met with an extensive sale. The personal presence of this excellent man, and the revelations of his book, were among the most efficient of the Anti-Slavery instrumentalities of the last year.

#### NORTHERN PRISONERS AT THE SOUTH.

The fortunate deliverance and safe return of Captain WALKER, call forcibly to remembrance the unhappy case of those who are yet wearing out their lives of captivity in Southern penitentiaries for the same humane offence. Messrs. BURR and THOMPSON are still confined in the penitentiary of Missouri, under the sentence passed upon them several years ago. Mr. WORK, their companion in suffering, has been released and restored to his family, in consequence of interest made in his behalf with the Executive of the State. Mr. TORREY remains a prisoner in the penitentiary at Baltimore, and from the latest accounts of his condition, he seems to have but small hopes of deliverance, unless it be by the hand of death. Mr. FAIRBANKS's trial, which had not occurred at the time of our last Report, took place on the 15th of February. He retracted his first plea of "not guilty," and, if the testimony of the Kentucky newspapers is to be believed, endeavored to procure a lenient sentence, by expressing his contrition for his offence, and his conviction that the ef-

forts of the abolitionists had been of mischievous effect. Notwithstanding these submissions, he received the severe sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment. Miss WEBSTER received a speedy pardon, and since her return home has published a narrative in which she endeavors to prove that it was no more than she deserved, for her innocence of the humanity laid to her charge. We have seen statements of other recent cases of arrest for this act in the South ; but the accounts are not sufficiently authentic to require recapitulation at this time.

An occurrence has taken place in Ohio which has caused a strong sensation there. Some months since a party of Virginians from Parkersburgh, crossed to the opposite bank of the Ohio and arrested three individuals charged with assisting in the escape of slaves. They were committed to gaol, tried and convicted, and their sentence suspended to await the decision of the highest judicature, on the point whether the jurisdiction of Virginia extended to the opposite shore of the Ohio, or ceased on her own ! Great excitement has prevailed in that region of Ohio. The parties engaged in the arrest have been indicted, and their delivery for trial demanded of the Governor of Virginia, it is needless to add, in vain. It can hardly be believed that the people of Ohio will submit to this insult to their sovereignty ; and preparations have been made at Parkersburgh, in apprehension of an attack on the town with a view to the rescue of the prisoners.

The very fact of these attempts for the deliverance of Slaves, proves the great change which has taken place in the popular mind, as to their right to freedom, since the days when not a voice was uplifted, nor a hand stretched forth, to help them. This change we may fairly claim as the result of the Anti-Slavery movement. If that movement never accomplishes any thing else, it has already been the means of the deliverance of thousands from the house of bondage, by opening a way for their escape, and raising up willing friends to assist them. And the very violences and outrages, which

this state of things produces in the South, may well prove to be the means of opening the eyes of the North to the incompatibility of the existence of their own rights with a political union founded on the denial of their equal rights to others.

#### FIRST OF AUGUST.

This high feast-day of freedom was again celebrated with all due joyfulness and gratitude by the Abolitionists of Massachusetts. Meetings were held at convenient points in various parts of the State, and the number of persons who gathered together to hear the happiness of the British freedmen contrasted with the misery of our Slaves, was probably never exceeded on any former Anniversary. *Pic-nics* were held in Waltham, Dedham, Danvers, Leicester, Duxbury, Fall River and Westminster, and doubtless in other places. The voice of eloquence and of song resounded through the natural temples in which they were held, and cheered the hearts and strengthened the spirits of those who thronged them from the fields of Anti-Slavery warfare, as they told that Emancipation, under a vertical sun, is not a dream, but a reality; no longer prophecy, but already history.

The colored citizens of Boston, also, solemnized the day by a procession, with appropriate banners, addresses at the Tremont Temple, and a *Soiree* in the evening.

#### THE WEST.

The chief scene of the Anti-Slavery operations of the year was the great West, where a great and good work was effected, under the auspices of the American Society. Our eloquent and unwearied friends, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ABBY KELLEY, ELIZABETH JANE HITCHCOCK, BENJAMIN S. JONES,

and others, have preached the gospel of no fellowship with the works of darkness, the doctrine of NO UNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS, over a wide extent of country, and have met with a degree of success surpassing our most sanguine hopes. Many have received the truths that they have uttered in their ears, and have come out from the churches and the parties to which they formerly belonged. One of the most valuable accessions to our ranks of Disunion, among many, was SAMUEL BROOKE, formerly an active member of the Liberty Party, and who is now the General Agent of the American Society for the Western States. Under his efficient direction we anticipate a series of victorious campaigns, until our warfare is crowned with an illustrious victory.

It is impossible for us to trace the prospects of these devoted friends of the Slave, even in a general sketch. They will more properly come within the scope of the Report of the Parent Society. All we can say is, that the West was never in a more healthful or hopeful state, as regards the Anti-Slavery cause, and that this happy condition of things is to be mainly attributed to the disinterested labors of the Abolitionists we have mentioned. From their industry and skill in sowing the rich soil which was so well ploughed up by the Hundred Conventions of 1843, we confidently expect a glorious harvest.

Among the other results of their toils, one that promises extensive and permanent usefulness, is the establishment of a weekly paper, as the organ of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society. This paper is now published at Salem, Ohio, and is conducted by Miss HITCHCOCK and Mr. JONES. In their faithful hands we may be sure that "THE BUGLE" will give no uncertain sound, but that its clear tones will resound over the prairies of the West, summoning the people to the battle of liberty, and giving the signal for its bloodless onset on the hosts of Slavery.

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS.

There has been no change during the year in the management or in the character of the Anti-Slavery presses, which form so essential a part of our machinery.

THE LIBERATOR still keeps the love and confidence of the Abolitionists, by the same fearless assertion of the highest Anti-Slavery principle, and the same resolute demand for absolute right, untainted by a selfish expediency, which originally obtained them. The enemies of the cause instinctively recognise the LIBERATOR as the oracle, and its editor as the incarnation, of the most dangerous Anti-Slavery, and they honor both with a hatred proportionably deep and bitter. While they shall continue to deserve this pregnant testimony to their thorough fidelity, let them not fail to receive the answering witness of a cordial and ample support from those who accept their principles and honor their spirit.

The NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD remains in the hands of the same Committee of Editorship that conducted it a year ago; and the burden of labor and responsibility still rests, as it did then, upon Mr. GAY, to whose disinterested and able service we have borne our testimony in another place.

The HERALD OF FREEDOM continues to be published by the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, and is still in the editorial hands of PARKER PILLSBURY, who has given himself, his long experience and his eminent talents, to the task, with a singleness of heart and an unselfishness of spirit above all praise. The Abolitionists of New Hampshire and of the country are deeply indebted to JACOB H. ELA, the printer of the HERALD, for a generous devotion of himself, his time and his means to its support, to which we probably owe its continued existence. It is to be hoped that the burden he has

been so nobly willing to bear for the Cause's sake, will be cheerfully shared by others, as soon as the sacrifices he has made for their benefit, and that of the Slave, are known.

The PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN has been regularly published, semi-monthly, during the year, and we are glad to learn that it is, henceforward, to appear every week. The soundness of its doctrine, the excellence of its spirit, and the talent of its execution commend it to the support and confidence of the Abolitionists everywhere.

We are happy to perceive on the part of many presses, not professedly Anti-Slavery, an increasing willingness to discuss the philosophy and the facts of Slavery, and its influence on the free States. Some of these prints occupy the same ground, and put forth the same propositions, which, ten years ago, brought down upon the Abolitionists the fiery indignation of the pro-slavery fanaticism of that day. We recognise in this fact another proof of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, and a fresh argument for the soundness of our philosophy in always advancing to whatever new height of duty we could discern before us, without waiting for those behind to overtake us. The progress of the rear has always been in due proportion to that of the van-guard.

We think that the attention of Abolitionists cannot be too often, or too strongly, directed to the duty of sustaining the faithful organs of their principles and helping them to the widest circulation. The Anti-Slavery papers are the levers upon which we must mainly rely to detach the system of Slavery from its stronghold in the indifference or selfishness of the northern hearts. Their regular visitations are needed to prepare the way for the lecturer, and to confirm and finish his work. They are mutually helpful to each other, and every lecturer knows how much help or hindrance is derived from the quality of the Anti-Slavery organs. But the living speakers must of necessity be few and far between, while the silent speech of the faithful paper falls pregnant on the at-

tion of many in widely distant places, and is a medium of communication of thought and of sympathy. Every where, if conducted with fidelity and ability, they keep alive in the minds of the people, even of those who refuse to read them, the knowledge that there are Slaves in the land, and that there is a movement for their deliverance.

The best service which Abolitionists can do for their organs is, of course, to extend their circulation, and thus help them to support themselves. But it is not to be expected that in all, if in any, cases, publications embodying truths the most generally odious, can be made self-sustaining. It is no argument, in their case, as it might be in that of a political or literary paper, that because their receipts are not sufficient to meet their expenses, they are not needed. The opposite presumption would be more likely to be just, paradoxical as it may sound, that, as soon as an Anti-Slavery paper can command an extensive and remunerating patronage, it is no longer a necessary or a useful agent ; because, such a result could hardly be attained unless it had either accomplished its work, and might give way to the other instrumentalities it had raised up, or unless it had made sacrifices of principle to popularity fatal to its vital energy. People, of course, cannot be expected to pay for papers which attack a system with which they think their own interest is identified, or which expose the guilty participation in it of themselves, or of the political or religious institutions which hedge it round, and which they have been taught to adore with a blind reverence. The unpalatable, though healing, medicine must be furnished by the hands of those who believe in its virtue.

We think, therefore, and we are confident of your concurrence in this opinion, that where an Anti-Slavery paper is conducted with acknowledged ability, and fails of sustaining itself merely on account of its fidelity to its unpopular principles, it is the duty and the privilege of Abolitionists to provide for the deficiency. Anti-Slavery prints are only needed as

the organs of truths and principles which the world is not yet ready to receive. When those truths and principles are so generally acknowledged as to command the support of the world, the necessity of specific organs is done away with. When, therefore, Anti-Slavery papers are managed with the most rigid adherence to economy, (which we can affirm, of our own knowledge, as to the *LIBERATOR*, *STANDARD* and *HERALD*, and believe to be equally true of the *FREEMAN* and the *BUGLE*,) and at the same time with talent and fidelity, we are of opinion that Anti-Slavery funds cannot be better expended than in helping to maintain them. We regard it, therefore, as the duty of those who may stand in our place, at any time of emergency, should such arise, to call upon the Abolitionists of the State, and of the country, to come to the rescue of any of these instrumentalities, which may be in want of pecuniary support.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

The treasury of the American Slaves has been again indebted to the women of this State, and of other parts of the country and the world, for the chief of the gifts that have been poured into it. The Anti-Slavery Fairs seem now to have consolidated themselves into one of the "domestic institutions" of the Anti-Slavery States. The last Massachusetts Bazaar was the most brilliant of any yet held, and met with a corresponding success. Faneuil Hall was granted for its use, and the ample accommodations afforded an opportunity for the display of its elegant stores, which it had never yet enjoyed. Besides the contributions from the other side of the Atlantic, of which we have already spoken, the abundance and beauty of those from all parts of this and other States, showed that the zeal of the Anti-Slavery women of the country had not waxed cold, but that it would endure



and increase even unto the end. The attendance of the public was beyond all former example, as the result, nearly **FOUR THOUSAND** dollars, sufficiently proves. The **LIBERTY BELL** appeared in an enlarged form, and with more than its former beauty of execution, and was filled with the productions of many of the finest geniuses and truest philanthropists of both worlds. Public addresses were made on several of the evenings of the Fair by Messrs. **PHILLIPS, J. F. CLARKE, LEWIS HAVEN, W. A. WHITE, E. H. CHAPIN, C. C. BURLEIGH, ADDISON DAVIS, REMOND, T. B. STONE, QUINCY, JOHN P. HALE, HENRY WILSON** and others. This Bazaar surpassed all its predecessors, not merely in its pecuniary result, but in its cheering effects on the Abolitionists, and its beneficial influence on the Public.

Fairs for the benefit of the Massachusetts Society have also been held in Salem, Fitchburgh, Upton, Uxbridge and Weymouth, and perhaps elsewhere, with most gratifying success, both as to their pecuniary and moral results. We are sure that with such gratifying experiences, or examples, of success, that the women of Massachusetts will never grow weary in this good work, nor withhold from those that have none to succor them the assistance of their helping hands.

#### THE POLITICAL PARTIES.—THE WHIG PARTY.

The Whig Party is still at the helm of affairs in this Commonwealth. Though its power was greatly shaken at the last election, it is still in the ascendant in the councils of the State. This party has publicly professed itself to be an Anti-Slavery Party, and it has spoken brave words as to the subversion of the National Constitution, and the violation of the rights of Massachusetts by the Slave Power. It remains to be proved by the action of the Legislature now in session whether they were merely great swelling words of vanity, or

whether they did indeed express the settled convictions and resolute purpose of those who uttered them. It was tauntingly said in South Carolina, previous to the Revolution, "the people of Massachusetts Bay can *talk*, vote and RESOLVE, but their doings are not correspondent!" We all know how this sneer was refuted by the resistance of Massachusetts to an invasion of the British Constitution which exposed them to be taxed without representation; the hours are now passing over our heads which will prove whether she has not so degenerated from her former self as slavishly to submit to infractions of the American Constitution, which place her and all her interests at the irresponsible disposal of her natural enemies,—the smallest and vilest oligarchy that ever disgraced the earth;—who, as the first fruits of their sovereignty, seize, imprison and sell into everlasting Slavery her own sons, and forbid her interference in their behalf, on pain of infamous punishments to her ambassadors.

To the Whig Party, mainly, is due the credit of the degree of spirit and manliness which the State has manifested in this hour of revolution. To the Whig Party will belong the infamy, should History have to tell that it was but a vaporing and braggart spirit and an abominable imitation of manliness that they opposed to these incursions of the Slave Power. While we would not condemn its action in advance, we cannot but say that an honorable and courageous course would signally falsify the signs by which it has been harbingered. A Whig Legislative Convention was held at the State House on February 19th, at which a series of resolutions were passed, defining the position of the Whigs of Massachusetts. They opened with a resolution declaring that they "now are, and will remain, honest supporters of the Constitution of the United States, as it is, until changed according to its own provisions! And while they continue to yield obedience to its mandates, they also claim its protection and guaranty, as

their shield and defence!" They proceeded to protest against the Annexation of Texas, and against the conduct of South Carolina and Louisiana, intimating their willingness to abide by the decision of a Slaveholding Supreme Court, should it be in derogation of the sovereign rights of Massachusetts, and conclude lamely and unprofitably, as they had begun, by pledging themselves "to the State and to the country to keep the old Bay State where she is, where she has been, and where we trust she may ever be, **THE FRIEND OF THE UNION, THE WHOLE UNION, THE UNION AS IT IS!**" It was not thus that their fathers spoke of the Constitutional Union which bound them to the mother country, when it became plain that such union was incompatible with their natural and civil rights! Would they have encountered, with a resolute resistance, the might of the British King, if they had foreseen the kind of liberty they were to purchase for their sons, and the degenerate spirit they should transmit to them?

Again, at a Convention held in the Autumn in Faneuil Hall, fairly representing, it is to be presumed, the sentiments of the Massachusetts Whigs, an Address was adopted, which, after recapitulating the opinions which the State had expressed on the subject of the Annexation of Texas, and declaring that she could not be brought into the Union except by a perversion of the powers and the prostration of the bulwarks of the Federal Constitution; contains the following significant BUT;—a conjunction in which there is much virtue,—"**BUT, Massachusetts makes no factious opposition to this, or any other, act of the General Government; she has no sympathy with nullification!**" But "this and all other questions of similar origin and character" (meaning, undoubtedly, the rights of Massachusetts' citizens in Southern States) "she submits to the **AUGUST TRIBUNAL** which the Government has provided" for such emergencies,—meaning the Supreme Court, of which a majority of the Bench are Slave-breeders, and the whole the ready tools of Slavery!

What, we should like to know, remains for a State, when it finds the powers and bulwarks of the constitution to which it looked for its "shield and defence" perverted and prostrated, and a new Slaveholding Government erected on its ruins, having for its object the perpetuation of the servitude of the blacks and of the vassalage of the whites, but NULLIFICATION? What remedy has Massachusetts but to throw herself back on her reserved rights, and to declare that the Union, as far as she is concerned, is at an end, and that she will henceforth stand or fall by herself, or in confederacy only with Free States? What care the Slaveholders for the spirit that vapors within the walls of the State House or of Faneuil Hall, bragging of what Massachusetts has done in hostility to Slavery, as long as she is pledged by the oaths of her political servants, to sustain Slavery, if need be, by the whole of her physical force, and suffers her fields to be exposed to the chase of the Slave-hunter? Massachusetts may "*talk, vote and resolve*" in favor of liberty, as long "*as her doings are not correspondent,*" — as long as she consents to act in behalf of Slavery, — and the Slaveholders regard her not. But let her words be followed by consistent action, and they will feel that the sceptre is departing from them.

The present is the most critical hour in the history of Massachusetts, and it depends upon the deeds that are crowded into it, whether she shall stand on a height of glory such as she has never yet attained, or be sunk to a depth of infamy which she has never dreamed of. She is now to prove whether her words of grace in times past in behalf of universal liberty and of her own individual rights were of any significance, or whether they were empty boasts, which she was ready to forswear at the first bidding of her masters. If she be in earnest and ready to clothe her words in deeds of weight, she will take the lead in the onward march of free principles, and be indeed the "model Republic" of the world. If she consent to submit in silence, or with words of remonstrance,

deserving only of contempt, to the revolution which has made Slavery instead of liberty the vital principle of the nation, she will give the lie to herself, prove herself to be a braggart and a fool, and merit, what she will receive, the scorn of all who have heard her words and beheld her deeds. Let her direct her Senators and Representatives, at Washington, to leave the National Legislature, when the Senators and Representatives of Texas enter it, and return to their constituents; let her call a Convention of the people and prepare a new Constitution and put forth a new Declaration of Independence; let her but carry out to their legitimate results her own declarations before the world, in this behalf; let her endure with a sublime patience the evils she may have to encounter, in consequence of her vindication of her right of counter-revolution in behalf of liberty and her own rights; and she will achieve for herself the blessings which the Constitution of the United States had failed to secure, — substantial liberty and a true self-government. This is the only course left for Massachusetts to pursue, consistently with her self-respect, her rights and her honor. If she suffer this golden moment to pass, and, after all her professions and reclamations, continue to take part in the newly-erected government, she will deserve all the indignities and injuries which will be her portion, and will justly sink in her own esteem, and in the opinion of the world, below the degradation of those States which have helped forward the revolution by their servile acclamations.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

It is only necessary to say of the party styling itself the Democratic, that it has continued to merit the applause of the South by the abjectness of its prostration before her. All opposition to the Annexation was soon silenced by the significant hint that no one displaying it had any thing to ex-

part from the Administration. As soon as this was understood, men devoured their own words with a cheerful alacrity and turned political somersets with a sudden agility, diverting, if not edifying, to behold. The party, with a few rare and honorable exceptions, went in a body with their Southern masters, as soon as they knew that they were in earnest, with the docility of a flock of sheep. The first crack of the Slave-whip was enough to restore order in the ranks of the political cattle and to send them uncomplainingly on in the way they should go. The alliance between the Northern Democracy and Southern Slaveocracy has been perfect for all practical purposes. There have been symptoms of division in the ranks of the party on minor points, but in the great fundamental principle of contempt for the rights of other men, we believe there has been no difference of opinion. Liberty and Humanity have no worse enemy than the Slavery-ridden Democracy of the Northern States.

#### THE THIRD PARTY.

At the last election in this State there was a great falling off in the number of votes cast by the various parties. In this diminution the Third Party shared in nearly, if not quite, the same proportion with the others. Under such circumstances, if it had been the moral movement it claims to be, it ought not only not to have diminished its vote, but should have increased its numbers from the ranks of the other parties. We believe this result was owing in a greater or less degree to the fidelity with which this Society has done its duty in past years, in exposing the character and history of the leaders of that party, and thus showing how little they were worthy of the confidence and support of the enemies of Slavery. The indifference, to say the least, which seemed to mark the con-

duct of the official organ and some of the leaders of the party, to the Annexation of Texas, though there were distinguished and honorable exceptions, also contributed to it. We cannot but think, moreover, that the share of the Third Party, in the FIFTY THOUSAND votes that were lost to the politics of the year, as well as those of the other two, was materially affected by the increasing doubts in the minds of men as to the morality of voting for officers who must swear to support the Constitution of the United States. To whatever cause this result was owing, we consider it as decisive of the speedy downfall of the party; an event which will be justly regarded with satisfaction by all Abolitionists, who were acquainted with its factious origin, and have watched its mischievous career.

#### THE CHURCH.

We have not left ourselves room, to such length has this report already extended, and so large a share of our attention has been claimed by the political events affecting the Anti-Slavery movement, to do more than take a cursory glance at the ecclesiastical developments of the past year. And yet the history of the religious world has presented to our consideration in no former year, events having a more direct or a more important relation to our enterprise. The division in the great Methodist Denomination, which we mentioned in our last Report as likely to ensue, has already taken place. Imperfect as has been the fidelity of Northern Methodists, who have consented to remain in ecclesiastical connection with men-stealers, it has been sufficient to rend the Church asunder. The sensitiveness of conscious guilt could not abide a fellowship which exposed it to hear words of rebuke, however qualified or accompanied by whatever inconsistent acts.

In consequence of the doings of the last General Conference, in the matter of Bishop Andrew, lame and impotent as

they were, of which we gave a sketch in our last report, a Convention of Southern Methodists was held, during May, at Louisville, Ky. This Convention remained in session for several days and discussed at great length the relations of the Northern and Southern portions of the Church, and the possibility of the two remaining together without derogation to the rights of the South. They resolved that the Southern and Southwestern Conferences "could not sanction the action of the late General Conference, on the subject of Slavery, by remaining under its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without deep and lasting injury to the interests of the Church and the Country," and instructed the Committee on Organization, "if, on examination, they find there is no reasonable ground to hope that the Northern majority would recede from their position, and give some safe guaranty for the future security of our civil and ecclesiastical rights, to report in favor of a separation from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of said Conference." In this demand on the North, we must be allowed to think the South somewhat unreasonable, as it would seem difficult to imagine how the majority *could* recede farther from any offensive position than it actually did. This, however, was not the opinion of the Convention. On the 17th of May, a resolution was reported and adopted by a vote of ninety-six yeas to three nays, entirely dissolving the jurisdiction of the General Conference over the Southern and Southwestern Conferences, and constituting those Conferences a separate ecclesiastical connection, to be known by the style and title of "the Methodist Episcopal Church South."

Thus the Union of the Northern and Southern Church, as far as Methodism is concerned, is dissolved. The South was, as usual, true to her own interests, and did what seemed best to her in their defence. The extremely small provocation which the General Conference had given to their Slaveholding members, in merely *requesting* Bishop Andrew to refrain from exercising his episcopal functions while he remained a Slave-



holder, shows the impossibility of their consenting to remain in permanent ecclesiastical union with any who will not accept the divinity of Slavery. The Conference had not removed or suspended their man-stealing Father in God; he still remained a Bishop, was to receive the support of a Bishop, and, if he pleased, exercise the functions of a Bishop; but all these concessions on the part of the Northern Methodists were of no avail. The South perceived that a troublesome spirit existed at the North which would make itself heard in their National religious assemblies, and they declared their independence. Though the love of sect was too powerful for the love of liberty in Northern religionists, the love of Slavery triumphed over it in those of the South. The act which the Northern portion of the Church should have done years ago, to free their consciences from the guilt of participation in Slavery, the Southern Church has done to free itself from the annoyance of even the faintest remonstrance against its degrading institution. Thus the Northern Methodists received their just reward for their wicked attempts to preserve the unity of their Church at the expense of justice and right, in seeing that Church rent in twain by even the feeblest breath of agitation. They have justly forfeited their self-respect, and, at the same time, failed to secure the object for which they sacrificed it.

In this disruption of the bond which united together the two sections of this powerful association, we see a hopeful presage of that political separation which alone can free the North from its guilty participancy in Slaveholding, and which, as we believe, will bring the system itself to its speediest end. That this view is not without reasonable ground, we have the testimony of no less unimpeachable a witness than HENRY CLAY himself. Mr. CLAY, in reply to a letter asking his opinion on this very point, among others, says, "I will not say that such a separation would necessarily produce a dissolution of the political union of these States; but the example would be

fraught with imminent danger, and, in co-operation with other causes unfortunately existing, its tendency on the stability of the confederacy would be perilous and alarming." The Convention, however, being entirely composed of Slaveholders, or their immediate representatives, the voice of the great compromiser did not have the magical effect which has usually followed his interposition on occasions where there were Northern rights to be bartered for the empty name of Union.

We do not believe that the men thus dissolving their ecclesiastical connection with the Northern Church, or any of them, would have taken this step had they seriously believed that it would endanger the political union of the States. The necessity of Northern bayonets to prop up the Southern domestic institutions, is too well understood by the helpless Slave-masters to suffer them to run any real risk of losing their support. The Dissolution of the Union will never be begun at the South. The service of the Northern Janizaries will never voluntarily be dispensed with. The rebellion must begin in their own ranks. But we conceive that this and every similar movement separating the South and the North, in matters of voluntary association, must have a direct tendency to destroy in Northern men the factitious and absurd feeling of loyalty to a Union which makes them politically serfs, that has been excited by selfish politicians for their own purposes, and thus lead to a just and impartial calculation of its value. It was in this view, we apprehend, that Mr. CLAY wrote his letter of dissuasion, and in this view it does honor to his sagacity and forecast. That his forebodings may be realized, and his augury fulfilled, is fast becoming the earnest wish and the resolute purpose of awakening thousands.

The Baptist denomination, also, have furnished us with like food for contemplation during the past year. Though the Southern Baptists have not, as yet, entirely severed their ecclesiastical connection with their Northern brethren, they

have taken what may be regarded as a preliminary step, by refusing to co-operate with them in their Missionary operations. In consequence of the Foreign Missionary Board of the Baptist Triennial Convention, which has its seat of operations in Boston, having announced last December their determination to refuse to appoint any one as a missionary, who owned Slaves, and insisted upon retaining them as his property; adding, "we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of Slavery;" the Board of the Virginia Missionary Society proposed a Convention of Southern Baptists "to confer on the best method of promoting the Foreign Mission cause, and other interests of the Baptist denomination in the South." This Convention accordingly assembled in the beginning of May at Augusta, Georgia, and, after a session of several days, formed a new Missionary Society, whose centre of operations was to be at the South. This determination was proclaimed to the world in an affecting address, which recapitulated the injuries the Southern Baptists had received at the hands of those of the North; remonstrated against the violation of their compact and Constitution; protested against the action of the Boston Board; mourned over the check thus given to Southern benevolence; and lamented over the necessity of separation. It is consolatory to know, however, that their zeal for evangelizing the world is not quenched by this unkindness of their fellow-brethren. The address goes on to say, "with zeal, our eyes and hearts are turned to Burmah and the Karens, — to the Continent of Africa, — to China, and her thirsty millions. In the South we have property which we will offer to the Lord and his cause." And again, "our brethren have pressed upon every inch of our privileges and sacred rights, — but this shall only urge our gushing souls to yield proportionately of their renewed efforts to the Lord, to the Church Universal, and to a dying world!"

The Meeting of the American Baptist Home Missionary

Society was held about the time of the Augusta Convention, at Providence, R. I. A proposition for an amicable separation of this society, which had been referred to a Committee at the last Annual Meeting to report to this, was discussed; but no decision made. The Slaveholders will have to do this work of division also themselves. The most significant portion of the proceedings consisted in a resolution offered by Mr. COLVER, "that the Board should not hereafter appoint Slaveholders as Missionaries," which was adopted; but at the same session a motion to reconsider this resolution was made and carried. Mr. COLVER afterwards moved that it was *inexpedient* to make such appointment; but upon receiving assurances, that if the resolutions before the meeting were passed, without this amendment, "the Board would not appoint any man Missionary who held property in his fellow man," Mr. COLVER *withdrew his amendment!* So that the Home Missionary Society avoided committing itself on the subject, by any direct action. It is not probable, however, that the Southern portion of the Church will feel safe from the possibility of rebuke, until it has imitated the example of the Methodist Church, and formally and entirely separated itself from its Northern connection.

During the past year, too, the Baptist world has been edified by a Discussion of "Domestic Slavery, considered as a Scriptural Institution," conducted by two of its most distinguished ornaments, Dr. FRANCIS WAYLAND, of Rhode Island, and Dr. RICHARD FULLER, of South Carolina. These reverend champions conducted the conflict with all the courtesies of chivalry. Dr. FULLER maintained the excellence of Slavery, as a whole, while he gave up all its necessary incidents and concomitants in detail. Dr. WAYLAND, though he would not allow the system to be absolutely righteous in itself, yet makes admissions enough to satisfy an impartial reader that it is not necessarily so very bad a thing after all! He admits that the New Testament does not forbid

Slavery; that God permitted and regulated it among the Jews; that a man cannot manumit his slaves if the law forbid it; that Southern Slaveholders are not to be compared with African Slave-traders; that were he a Missionary to a Slaveholding Heathen nation, he should not insist upon emancipation as a condition of Church-membership; that Slaveholding is not always and everywhere a sin; that simple Slaveholding ought not to be ground of excommunication; that he perceives but little to object to in the conclusions of his reverend brother; and, finally, that knowing some Christian Slaveholders, who have voluntarily remained such through life, *he knows not how they could have acted more worthily!* Well may the Slaves pray to be delivered out of the hands of such friends!

The Unitarian denomination have uplifted their voice of protestation against Slavery, during the last year, in decided and emphatic tones. It being thought by some of the American clergymen, that the delay, if not the language, of the reply which the Unitarian ministers returned to the letter addressed to them, the previous year, by their British brethren, was calculated to give an unjust impression to the world of their sense of the enormity of Slavery, a protest against American Slavery was drawn up and signed by ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY ministers. This document was prepared with great care and skill, and contained, in a brief space, the argument against Slavery, couched in language of the tersest energy. It was widely circulated and produced a strong impression on the public mind, extending far beyond the limits of the denomination from which it emanated. It is an observable fact, and one significant to those who understand the nature and history of the Anti-Slavery cause, that, although the signers of this Protest embraced a large proportion of the ministers of that denomination, the names of the elder and leading metropolitan ministers are not to be found annexed to it. Our space forbids us to do more than barely mention the fact, and

we leave it to be accounted for by themselves, or by others who may feel disposed to attempt the task.

The Society of Friends have always claimed, and once deserved, the name of an Anti-Slavery Society. We have in a former Report endeavored to do exact justice, in this behalf, and to show where, and how, the Society in this country had, as such, denied its former testimonies. The Society of Friends, in the British Islands, have furnished many of the very chiefest of Abolitionists in times past; and it was in a great degree owing to them that the great work of English Emancipation was accomplished. Among the members of the Society there, as well as here, we still number many of our heartiest and most active friends. But we regret to say, that very few, if any, of the prominent Friends, who had visited this country, have been able to withstand the pro-slavery atmosphere which hangs over it, and to stand erect and utter a faithful testimony in the ears of a perverse generation. The last year has furnished a new proof of this melancholy fact. It is well known that two or three years ago the Society of Friends in Indiana split on the rock of Slavery, and that the Anti-Slavery Friends have maintained a separate organization ever since. The London Yearly Meeting, grieved at this breach in the Society, sent four of its members, WILLIAM FORSTER, JOSIAH FORSTER, GEORGE STACY and JOHN ALLEN, to convey its advice to the seceding members to discontinue their meetings for worship, and attend those from which they had withdrawn. It is hardly necessary to say that their mission to those Friends, and to the Anti-Slavery Friends in Iowa belonging to their Yearly Meeting, was eminently unsuccessful. In the discharge of their errand, while in that part of the country, and while journeying thither, we believe that they kept themselves scrupulously separate from Abolitionists, and that their influence, as far as it extended, was hostile to the great Anti-Slavery Enterprise.

which is open to the genuine friends of freedom, of all opinions, and of every discipline, who are willing to combine for the overthrow of Slavery.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have taken pains to define their position in relation to Slavery in clear and precise terms. The question having been raised at a previous meeting of the Board whether the Missionaries to the Cherokee and Choctaw tribes of Indians, or elsewhere, should be allowed to admit Slaveholding converts to Christian communion, it was referred to a Committee, of which the Rev. Dr. Woods was Chairman. At the last meeting of the Board, this Committee presented a report drawn up with much subtlety and address, in which an attempt was made to confound the true point at issue of American chattel Slavery, with the evils of *caste* in India, and the various forms of oppression which prevail in Heathen countries, and then the general principle is applied to all, that the Missionaries are to decide in each case, how far any of these are impediments to admission to the Church of Christ! The Board therefore decline instructing their Missionaries on this point; and, farther, distinctly affirm that "they cannot think that, in all cases, Slavery involves individual guilt in such a manner that every person implicated in it can, on Scriptural grounds, be excluded from Christian fellowship!" In support of this exposition of the evangelical doctrine of church-discipline, the sentiments and language of Dr. CHALMERS, to the same effect, are quoted, and with them, it affirms, that "*the whole General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland unanimously concur!*" It is to be hoped that the Abolitionists of Scotland, of that communion, will take measures to exonerate themselves from the imputation of this pro-slavery unanimity.

The Report goes on to declare, virtually, that Slavery is not a sin; that it is not the business of Missionaries to interfere with it, directly; that the only hope of its abolition is

through "the influence of the Gospel, conveyed in the spirit of meekness and love!" Which may be interpreted to mean, conveyed so as not to disturb the equanimity, or discompose the complacency, of the Slave-masters. Dr. BACON introduced resolutions, admitting that Slaveholding was not, in all cases, sin, but affirming that they who buy and sell slaves and treat them as property must of necessity be treated, "do not give satisfactory evidence of being born again, or having the spirit of Christ!" Mr. PHELPS introduced resolutions, of which the point was, that the Board would withdraw its support from Missionaries who received Slaveholders to the Church, on the same ground that it would withdraw such support in case of the admission of gamblers, drunkards and the like. All these resolutions, however, were rejected, and the Report adopted, after a long discussion, without a dissenting voice! Thus this powerful body has taken a bolder position than it has yet assumed, and, encompassing Slavery about with the protection of its great name and mighty influence, it has well earned the distinction of being the loftiest and the strongest of all her bulwarks.

Such are a few of the interesting ecclesiastical developments of the last twelvemonth. We have no room even to mention the action of Presbyteries and Churches, of Conventions and of individuals, which might come under this division of our subject. We can only say that the Church has again borne witness to the fermentation which the Anti-Slavery sentiment is creating in the community; and that fidelity on the part of Abolitionists only is necessary to make her elect between the performance of her duty to the Slave and her own destruction.

In the slight sketch which we have thus given of the action of these various religious bodies, we trust that we shall not be suspected of exercising any partiality in the judgment we have passed upon them. We view the religious, as well as the political, events which affect the Anti-Slavery Cause, from



the broad and high platform of the Anti-Slavery Cause. We endeavor to look at them with the eye of the Slave, and to pronounce upon their character, as he would do, did he occupy our stand-point. As we welcome to our platform men of all creeds and establishments, without questioning the origin of the one or the authority of the other, but only asking the employment of both for the deliverance of the captives ; so do we look with impartial eyes upon the contests which are going on in the religious and political worlds, only entreating of all to suspend their strife with each other, for a time, and make common cause with us for the destruction of Slavery. We call upon all men to come to the assistance of them that are drawn unto death, from the Pope of Rome to the most radical *Come-outer* of them all, and we do not stop to inquire as to their right to use or to reject the spiritual power which they claim, or abjure ; we only demand of them to use whatever influence or authority they can employ for the removal of any crime, for the extinction of this sum of all crimes. We do not undertake to affirm whether the Calvinist is right in deciding, on evidence, whether a man's state of mind and manner of life entitle him to the Christian name and privileges, or whether the Unitarian is wrong in making each man the final judge of these things, in his own case, without appeal ; we only ask of both to treat Slaveholding and Slaveholders as they treat all other sins and sinners. As Abolitionists, we have no contest with the Church and with the State, as such. It is only a PRO-SLAVERY CHURCH and a PRO-SLAVERY STATE that we denounce and come out from. Clergymen and Quakers, Church-members and *Come-outers*, Politicians and Non-Resistants, all stand on an equal footing upon our platform. As Abolitionists, we have no test but the fidelity of every man to his own rule of duty ; no creed, but the inherent wickedness of Slavery and the duty of immediate emancipation. Our intolerance and exclusiveness consist in trying every man by the standard which, not we, but he

himself has erected and acknowledged to be the true one. We have no religious or political test, but we insist upon men's consistency, in the matter of Slavery, with those which they have themselves set up. And we claim the right to point out, in such terms as we think the case demands, such inconsistencies of profession and practice, of words and deeds, as we deem the cause of the helpless millions, in whose behalf we speak, demands. This being the philosophy, or rather the plain common-sense, of our association, we invite all, of all opinions, creeds and climes, to come with such weapons as they can bring, and join us in this work of the Abolition of Slavery,—a work which is, when stripped of the sophistries which have been thrown around it by pro-Slavery priests and politicians, merely the plainest benevolence and the simplest humanity.

#### OUR PROSPECTS.

We have thus taken a hasty glance at the year which has just hurried past us,—a year crowded with great events, and attended by portentous shadows of others yet to come. It has been a year of triumph to Slavery, of jubilee and rejoicing to those who desire its permanent establishment and high supremacy. The battle has been fought, and the victory has gone against Liberty. Thirty thousand foreign Slaves are incorporated with the nation, groaning in our own house of bondage, and the energies of the domestic Slave-trade are revived and directed to new marts for men. The gradual revolution which has been at work for fifty years, metamorphosing the government which our fathers established, as they thought, to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, into a Slaveholding oligarchy, perverting its powers to the perpetuation and extension of Slavery, is now completed. An insignificant minority of the people, in virtue of their

ownership in human beings, possesses a clear majority of voices in the Senate of the United States, and thus controls and directs the offices, the laws and the policy of the country. While in the mother country the effect of the slow revolution in men's minds has been to transfer the political power of the State from the aristocratic to the popular branch, its results in this republic has been exactly the reverse. The Senate is a body of vastly greater real power than the House of Lords, for its selfishness cannot be controlled by the royal prerogative of the indefinite multiplication of peerages. It is as absolute as the Council of Ten. No appointment can be made, no law changed, without its consent. And yet this omnipotent body is the tool of a privileged class, — not much, if at all, exceeding ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND voting men! And this a class, too, — thus strong in its presumptive privilege of piracy, its hereditary rights of robbery, — of necessity and from the nature of things, the necessary and natural enemy of the free labor and the free laborers they control and govern!

In view of the present triumphant ascendancy of the Slave Power, may we not reasonably despair of success, and throw ourselves without a farther struggle into the stream of events which is hurrying us, as well as the Slaves, to hopeless destruction? Have we not been spending our labor and our strength for nought? Is there any gleam of hope left to light us on the devious way we are to tread? To whomsoever else the present juncture may seem one fit to excite nothing but despondency, to the intelligent abolitionist it has another aspect. Despair is not a word written in his vocabulary. In these events, which he descried afar off, when a false security lulled all other hearts, he sees only the necessary results of causes he has long known to exist. He even beholds in them proofs of the progress of the Anti-Slavery idea, and recognizes them as authentic witnesses of the success of his own agitation. He knew from the beginning that Slavery could not be abolished without a fearful struggle, and he expected that the resistance

of Slavery would be in exact proportion to the aggressions of Liberty. He is not cast down when he sees the Slave Power overleaping the barriers of the Constitution and appropriating to its vile uses, by an audacious larceny, a domain equal in extent to some of the proudest kingdoms of Europe ; for he sees in this act of desperation, the proof that it feels that its throne is shaken, and that its sceptre trembles in its gripe. The spirit of Slavery is aroused because the spirit of Liberty is awakening, and now, like the good and evil principles of the Persians, they are fighting with each other for the mastery ; and in this awakening of the spirit of liberty he sees the fruit and the reward of his own toils and testimonies. And in the very fierceness of the conflict between Liberty and Slavery, he sees the first struggles of the Revolution whose cradle he has rocked, and to whose gathering strength he looks for deliverance for himself and his children.

The developements of the last year are due to no new spirit infused into the heart of this nation. It is the same spirit whose subtle workings we have been watching for years, that has been busy in this work of destruction. It is true that it was aroused, but was not created, by the Anti-Slavery zeal of later years. The reptile has started up into a demon at the touch of the Anti-Slavery spear ; but it was no less a devil when hid under its disguise. Slavery has always been the paramount lord of this people, in effect. It is better that it should be so in name, as well as in deed. The forms of a Republic are all that we have had for many years ; we are none the more slaves that the Imperial Power grows more and more careless about keeping up the farce of freedom. The spirit of Slavery is no stronger, the spirit of Liberty is no weaker, now, than it was fifteen years ago, when the first warning cry resounded in the unwilling ears of a sleeping nation. Our loss is only apparent ; our gain is real. If the Annexation of Texas has been rendered necessary, as we believe, by the progress of Anti-Slavery agitation, the cause may be well ad-

mitted to be more significant than the effect. The Slaveholders know that their cherished system exists but by Northern sufferance. The more outrageous their violations of Northern rights in defence of that system, the more plainly do they confess their instinctive perception of the changing state of the Northern mind, and the more reasonable is the probability that the North may be aroused to an effectual resistance. Subjection to an irresponsible tyranny, and not its excesses, is the evil which our Fathers taught us, by precept and by example, to resist to the uttermost. A secret tyranny is more fatal than an open one, and the very atrocities which reveal its existence, may be the means appointed for its destruction. Therefore we are of good cheer, even in the presence of this portentous event, knowing that it lies greatly in our hands whether it shall remain a Curse, or be transmuted into a Blessing, to our country and to mankind.

#### OUR DUTY.

What then is our duty, at this momentous crisis? The same which was ours in each successive crisis which has heralded this, and which will still be ours in each that will follow after it, in its due turn, till all be accomplished. It is, to continue to maintain that faithful testimony, which has compelled the reluctant people to pause and listen to the tale of the Slave's wrongs and of their own blood-guiltiness. It is, to continue to be the reproachful conscience of this guilty nation, giving it no peace in its dreams of power and wealth, until it shall repent and release its captives. It is, to uphold that great Agitation which ever stands in the presence of this tyrant nation, and commands it, in the name of the Living God, to let his people go! And still to point out to it, the loathsome plagues and hideous destruction in which its disso-

bedience to this incessant command is plunging it, and to show the only way of escape.

This is the mission of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise. Imperfectly as that mission has been performed, many as have been the obstacles which the hostility of open enemies, and the treachery of pretended friends, have thrown in the way of its discharge, it has still been of power sufficient to shake the nation. It was not our numbers, for we are few ; it was not our strength, for we are weak, as men count strength ; it was our measure of FIDELITY, that has enabled us to arouse the sluggish mind of this people, and to pour our words of warning and of rebuke into their ears, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear. It is only by the same unselfish and uncompromising testimony that we can hope to complete the change in the heart of this nation, which will decree the triumph of our accomplished warfare. FIDELITY and ACTIVITY are the two chief, the two only essential, elements of our success. Let us not be seduced to lower our standard, or to relax our efforts ; and, should we fail of the victory, we shall at least have the satisfaction of having deserved it.

The mission of the Abolitionists is a high and holy one. They supply the deficiency in the social state to which we owe the rapid deterioration of our national morals and the destruction of our free national institutions. At each advancing stride of Slavery, in times past, there were always found brave men who opposed a dauntless breasts to its usurpations ; but when their resistance was in vain, and Slavery was triumphant, they submitted quietly, if not patiently, and their voice of remonstrance was heard no more. They had been taught to regard Slavery as a necessary evil, for which none living were responsible, and they felt no call to protest against it, except at times when their own rights were imminently endangered by it. Thus the prescriptive rights of Slavery came to be looked upon at the North, as well as at the South, as sacred, and the first interference with them, as treasonable. But

now the great doctrine of Immediate Emancipation has been proclaimed. Slavery is denounced as a *malum in se*, a sin to be immediately abandoned. A body of men has now existed for fifteen years in the country whose very name and being is a perpetual protest against Slavery. It has been their business to attack it at all times, and in all places, and to drive it from one fastness to another.

They have never slumbered nor slept, but their odious truths have been ever reiterated in the hearing of the nation. They make continual claim for the rights of the Slave, and will not suffer them to be lost by their default. The great change which we have witnessed in the public mind within those few years, is mainly owing to their importunity. It is to the continuance of that importunity, to this keeping of the wrongs of the Slave, and of their own guilty participation in them, continually in the minds of the free, that we are to hope for a triumphant success. It is this element of incessant, impracticable, importunate Abolitionism that distinguishes the present era from all that preceded it, and makes it the Baptist, if not the Messiah, of Emancipation.

Such being the trust which is laid upon the American Abolitionists, let them see to it that they are faithful to it. Let them feel its dignity, as well as its importance. It is no small privilege in a sordid and self-seeking age, devoted to low and ephemeral interests, to be permitted to discover the grandeur and far-reaching issues of the passage of the world's history which we are now helping to fill up. To have a lofty and ennobling object of pursuit, not the paltry strifes of party for the predominance of this, or the other, scheme of national selfishness, but even the extension of human freedom, and the restoration of their rights to a nation of enslaved millions within our borders, is a blessing which they only who deserve can appreciate. The Abolition of American Slavery is the only event of this age and country which will claim an imperishable record on the tablet of History. It is the only

event which will affect the daily life and substantial happiness of millions yet to be. Happy is he who, amid the noise and dust of the surrounding world, can discern this great event slowly, but certainly, working out its own accomplishment ! Happier he, who, for no self-ends, joins the train of its faithful friends, and devotes himself ungrudgingly to its service, content with the reward of knowing that he thus best satisfies the demands of his own soul, of his race, and of his God !





## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*The receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, from January 20, 1845, to January 1, 1846, have been as follow, viz.*

Balance of old account,	\$285 68
From Upton Union A. S. S. by W. L. Garrison,	100 00
“ Collections made at annual meeting, by H. W. Williams,	144 98
“ Rents of part of office, 25 Cornhill,	92 50
“ Ladies' A. S. Fair in Salem, by Adelia Roberts, treasurer,	100 00
“ Sales of book at 25 Cornhill,	245 00
“ Collections at N. E. Convention, by H. W. Williams,	186 51
“ Uxbridge A. S. Society, by G. Capron,	50 00
“ Cambridgeport A. S. Society, by W. Farwell,	16 00
“ Weymouth and Braintree Female A. S. Society Fair, by L. A. Cowing, treasurer,	80 00
“ Sundry individual subscriptions, as advertised in the Liberator,	94 00
Making total amount of receipts,	\$1394 67

The disbursements during the same time have been  
as follow, viz. :

Paid for rent of office, 25 Cornhill,	\$300 00
“ For printing Annual Report of the Board,	82 90
“ Expenses of Annual Meeting,	95 25
“ Per order of the Board, to the American Society,	150 00
“ Charles K. Whipple for his services as Agent,	265 59
“ Expenses of N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention,	108 12
“ Perkins & Co's. bill of paper,	2 50
“ S. S. Foster for balance due him for former services,	20 00
“ Printing handbills,	3 50
“ Expenses of Agents on 1st of August Anniversary, by C. K. Whipple,	14 00
“ For Liberator sent to Members of Congress,	26 00
“ L. Moody, for services as Agent,	28 15
Making total amount of disbursements,	\$1096 01
Leaving a balance in treasury, on Jan. 1,	\$298 66

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

**AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.**

**BOSTON, Jan. 24, 1846. — I have examined the foregoing account of the receipts and disbursements of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Jan. 20, 1845, to the present time, and find the same to be correct.**

**EDMUND JACKSON, Auditor.**

# OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

1846.

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## PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

## VICE PRESIDENTS.

SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury,	SAMUEL MAY, Leicester,
ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	HARRIS COWDRY, Acton,
NATH'L B. BORDEN, Fall River,	NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	THEODORE P. LOCKE, Westminster,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Chelsea,	WILLIAM BASSETT, Lynn,
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	CAROLINE WESTON, New Bedford,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	ZENAS RHOADES, N. Marlboro',
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Uxbridge,	BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	JOSIAH GIFFORD, Sandwich,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
HORATIO G. WOOD, Middleboro',	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	CYRUS PIERCE, Newton,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridge.

## CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

## RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, Boston.

## TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

## AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

## COUNSELLORS.

WM. L. GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE W. WESTON,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH,	CHARLES L. RYMOND,
ROBERT F. WALCUTT,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
JOHN M. SPEAR,	CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.



# APPENDIX.

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## THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, 1846.

PURSUANT to the notification of the President and Secretary of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, according to its Constitution, the Fourteenth Annual Meeting was held in the Tremont Temple, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of January.

On Wednesday morning, Jan. 28, the President of the Society, FRANCIS JACKSON, took the chair.

After prayer, by J. M. SPEAR, the following persons were appointed Assistant Secretaries:—

DANIEL RICKETSON, of New Bedford,  
SAMUEL DYER, of Abington,  
MARY P. KENNY, of Salem.

Committees were then appointed, as follows:— Committee on Business:

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,  
WENDELL PHILLIPS,  
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,  
CHARLES LENOX REMOND,  
PARKER PILLSBURY,  
C. C. BURLEIGH,  
WILLIAM A. WHITE.

Committee on the Roll and Finance:—

LORING MOODY,  
J. T. EVERETT,  
FREDERIC S. CABOT

## Committee on Nomination of Officers :—

EDMUND QUINCY, Norfolk Co.

SETH SPRAGUE, Plymouth Co.

JOHN T. HILTON, Middlesex Co.

LORING MOODY, Barnstable Co.

J. T. EVERETT, Worcester Co.

NATHAN WEBSTER, Essex Co.

ROBERT F. WALCUTT, Suffolk Co.

BENJAMIN SNOW, JR., Worcester Co.

The Treasurer's Report was read and accepted. Selections from the Annual Report of the Board of Managers were read by the Corresponding Secretary, Edmund Quincy, of Dedham.

## WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The subject-matter of the following Memorial was discussed, and finally adopted, unanimously. The subsequent resolutions were also adopted, after discussion, with great unanimity.

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts.*

Whereas, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has, through her Legislature, with great unanimity, in the years 1843, 1844 and 1845, solemnly and strenuously protested against the admission, by the federal government, of the foreign nation of Texas, as a State, into this Union, because the act would be in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, and because it would perpetuate the Slavery of a portion of mankind in America, and because it would extend the unequal rule of representation by federal numbers, over a new region never within the contemplation of those who consented to its establishment, at the time of the formation of the Constitution :—

And, whereas, "the consent of the executive and legislative departments of the government of the United States has been given" to this iniquitous project in a manner as unconstitutional as it was profligate, and the aforesaid 'foreign nation of Texas' is now recognized as one of the States of the Union :—

Therefore, the undersigned citizens and inhabitants of this Com-

monwealth, respectfully and earnestly call upon the Legislature to declare — “ That Massachusetts hereby refuses to acknowledge the act of the general government of the United States, authorizing the admission of Texas, as a legal act : ” — “ That the annexation of a large slaveholding territory at the will of the government of the United States, with the declared intention of giving strength to the institution of domestic slavery in these States, is an alarming encroachment upon the rights of the Union, a perversion of the principles of republican government, a deliberate assault upon the compromises of the Constitution, and demands the strenuous, united and persevering opposition of all persons, without distinction, who claim to be the friends of human liberty : ” — That inasmuch as the old Union has ceased to exist, and its recognition as still binding, by Massachusetts, would be traitorous to the cause of human liberty — to sanction a great national crime — to submit to an absolute despotism — to co-operate for the perpetuation of slavery and the slave-trade — and at the same time to give the lie to all the solemn declarations of Massachusetts, in regard to the annexation of Texas — therefore it is the duty of the Senators and Representatives from this State in Congress, immediately to return home to their constituents, and the duty of the People of Massachusetts immediately to hold a general convention for the purpose of framing an independent and free government, either for herself alone, or with such other States as may be disposed to co-operate with her in trampling upon tyranny, and carrying into full effect the self-evident truths set forth in the old Declaration of Independence.

1. *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to report a delegation of two gentlemen, to be invited by this Society, at the present time, to visit Haiti for three months on anti-slavery duties, and that they be intrusted with such letters and instructions, as the committee shall deem expedient. Also, that their necessary expenses, and a suitable salary, be paid them from the funds of this Society.

[Hereupon W. Phillips, C. L. Remond and M. W. Chapman were chosen a committee, and they advised the appointment of C. L. Remond and David Lee Child as envoys of the Society.]

2. *Resolved*, That the friends of the cause, in those towns of the State where separate colored schools are established, be urged to see to it, that our colored fellow-citizens are fully informed of their



rights under the recent law of the Commonwealth, and afford them all possible aid in securing the full and equal enjoyment of the public schools ; and if either the terms of the law, or the indifference of the public, shall suffice to keep alive this enormous abuse of the common school system, then so to bring the matter before the people of the State as to correct this injustice.

3. *Resolved*, That in consequence of the signal victory achieved by the Slave Power during the past year, by the annexation of Texas to this Union, there is great danger that a moral paralysis will seize on the popular mind and heart ; and that an event, which, in view of its unparalleled atrocity, should be the cause of the speedy downfall of slavery, by combining against it the irresistible power of the people, will only give a new and long lease to its existence, and extinguish the last hope for the salvation of the republic.

4. *Resolved*, That the friends of the anti-slavery cause be urged to co-operate in placing in the hands of the Board of Managers of this Society, as large a sum as practicable, to be exclusively devoted to the support of lecturing agents in this Commonwealth.

[The money raised in pledges and in cash during the meetings, amounted to upwards of \$1800.00.]

5. *Resolved*, That Charles Sumner and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who have refused to lecture before the New Bedford Lyceum, on account of the exclusion of colored persons, deserve the warmest thanks of every friend of justice and humanity ; and we rejoice that the testimony thus nobly borne comes from a quarter, which must strike a strong blow against the prejudice of color, and carry home a severe rebuke to those who, by their acts, have yielded to the base and wicked spirit of the South, and violated the boasted principles of Northern liberty.

6. *Resolved*, That we regard the visit of Frederick Douglass across the ocean, as an American Slave, with feelings of warm commendation and brotherly regard ; that the generous and highly honorable reception which has been given to him by the people of Ireland, fills us with unmingled pleasure, as it will inflict a staggering blow on the anti-republican and anti-Christian spirit of American caste ; and that, not doubting that the same hospitable and manly treatment which he has experienced in the Emerald Isle, will be extended to him by the people of Scotland and England, and that his foreign mission will be of the largest service to our enterprise,

we trust he will in due time be returned in safety to the guilty land of his birth, to join again with us in toils and sacrifices for her full redemption.

7. *Whereas*, there is a point in the progress of despotism, beyond which endurance cannot go, and it would be criminal passively to submit; and,

*Whereas*, that point has already been attained, in the course of a long series of the most frightful strides on the part of the Slave Power of this country, — destroying in its progress the sacred right of petition, of locomotion, of free speech, and the freedom of the press, — trampling upon the Constitution, and prostrating every bulwark of religious and political freedom, — seizing by fraud and violence a vast foreign territory, and in the same profligate spirit annexing it to the United States, and still grasping for more, for the avowed purpose of protecting, extending and perpetuating a system of unequalled tyranny, pollution and blood, — and finally dooming citizens of this Commonwealth to chains and slavery, if caught in Southern ports : — therefore,

*Resolved*, That, standing in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of a world-famous Revolution — animated, we trust, by as pure a spirit of patriotism and as ardent a zeal in the cause of human liberty as our revolutionary sires, but substituting, for their weapons of warfare, those of an ethereal temper, which are mighty through God to the pulling down of every strong-hold of tyranny — we hereby declare to the country and the world, that the time has come for the overthrow of the existing national government, the repeal of the national compact, and the formation of a Northern Free League for the establishment of a new Union, in which there shall exist no tyrant or slave, but every man shall be put in the full possession of all his inalienable rights.

8. *Resolved*, That the special thanks of this Society are proffered to our untiring coadjutor, Henry C. Wright, for the fidelity with which he has unmasked the vaunted Free Church of Scotland, for conniving at the great iniquity of American slavery, by soliciting and receiving its pecuniary assistance and religious co-operation; for all his labors abroad, to secure in aid of our anti-slavery enterprise, the generous sympathies and Christian co-operation of the good and philanthropic in England and Europe; and in particular, for

the revelation which he has made to them, as to the guilty compromises of the American Union — thus invoking their moral abhorrence of such an unholy compact, and securing their righteous testimony against it.

9. *Resolved*, That this Society hails with the most cordial satisfaction, the resolutions of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, passed at Glasgow in July last; and, in answer to the charge of being anti-Church, the Society replies, that with churches acting up to those principles, it has no fault to find.

10. *Resolved*, That the liberal assistance which has been rendered to this Society, through the medium of the late Faneuil Hall Bazaar, is gratefully appreciated, as affording, at present, the main staff of the pecuniary efficiency of our operations; and as giving fresh evidence of the fact, that, as in the anti-slavery struggle in England, so, in a similar struggle in this country, it is to the women that the credit is due of being first and foremost on the score of zeal, activity, and self-sacrifice, to secure for bleeding humanity a speedy deliverance.

11. *Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is now what it ever was, the determined enemy of the slave in the false guise of professed friendship. It seeks, by pointing to the shores of Africa, to turn away the eyes of the benevolent from the suffering slaves in our own country, and to absorb the sympathies of the kindly hearted in favor of a scheme designed to 'guard that system' of bondage, under which three millions suffer, from the influences of freedom, by removing those influences out of the way; and blasphemously appeals to the religious sentiment, and seeks to perpetuate the most unholy prejudice, to enable it to effect its object. Therefore further

12. *Resolved*, That anti-slavery lecturers should make it a part of their business to unmask this monster, from time to time, and not suffer it to regain the footing that, under a former exposure, it had lost.

13. *Resolved*, That the action of the last meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in regard to the crime of holding human beings in slavery, in addition to its previous course on the same subject, proves beyond intelligent and honest contradiction, that that body is inherently and 'organically' corrupt and time-serving, and therefore totally disqualified from comprehending,

sanctioning or spreading abroad the glorious gospel of Him, who came to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. Therefore further

*Resolved*, That the friends of God and man should as carefully withhold their donations from the American Board, while it occupies its present position, and is under its present guidance, as they would from any other conclave of 'scribes, pharisees and hypocrites.'

14. *Resolved*, That recognizing in the deputation from the English 'Friends,' now visiting this country, some of the leaders of that Committee which conspired to exclude from the London Convention of 1840, the delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society, we are not surprised that their whole course in this country has been marked by a despicable sectarianism, a base servility to a corrupt public opinion, and a uniform sympathy with the oppressor.

15. *Resolved*, That the triumph of the scheme of Texan annexation, carried forward by the might and influence of the Federal Government, in spite of the many leading men publicly pledged against it—the great party which threw down its gage of defiance—the large interests jeopardized by its success—the risk of war—the solemn pledge of treaties—the deliberate repeated protest of a leading State—the half-awakened conscience of the nation—the moral sentiment of the age—is enough to show that no success is to be hoped for in our contest unless we throw off the trammels of the United States Constitution, and concentrate our efforts on slavery itself, and carry on the warfare under no party guidance, in no single channel, but in the united name 'of justice, humanity, and the living God.'

16. *Resolved*, 'That while many, startled by the recent growth and triumph of the slave system, are seeking some popular war-cry with which to rally, for the moment, the opposers of its demands, or timidly and in obedience to a halting public opinion are concentrating their efforts on some odious incident of the system, or single act of its supporters, we frankly declare our warfare to be, as always heretofore, with the whole slave system itself—our object its immediate and total abolition—and our conviction that the only path to this result will be over the ruins of the present American Church, and the present American Union.

17. *Resolved*, That we rejoice to see all about us, in the speeches of single men, the actions of public bodies, the tone of public sentiment, even the voice of a comparatively dependent press, the thick-coming evidence of a great change on the subject of DISUNION ; and that many minds are rapidly ripening to the conviction, that the only hope for Liberty, this side of the water, is in the policy of ' NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.'

18. *Resolved*, That, rising in determination, energy and spirit with the emergency of the times, — taking our position by the side of the altar of liberty, — we hereby consecrate ourselves anew to the cause of our enslaved fellow-countrymen, and register our declaration afresh, that, come what may, we will never yield one inch of ground to the foe, but press on to the last hour of our existence, if need be, for the triumphant termination of our great enterprise.

The following-named persons participated in the discussions : — Wendell Phillips, G. W. F. Mellen, Edmund Quincy, W. L. Garrison, C. L. Remond, C. C. Burleigh, Daniel Ricketson, I. C. Ray, W. A. White, Henry Wilson, Parker Pillsbury, John Lewis Russell, J. B. Sanderson, Henry Clapp, Josiah Hayward, Wm. Jenkins, S. Smith, J. T. Everett, D. S. Grandin, E. Mack, Addison Davis, Seth Sprague, Jonathan Walker, and Warren Burton.

Between three and four thousand persons were most attentive listeners at the FANEUIL HALL session, to the eloquent speeches of Burleigh, Pillsbury, Garrison and Phillips, who were warmly cheered throughout. The last session, at the Tremont Temple, was one of the most affecting and solemn interest, from the fact of the approval given to the movement for a dissolution of the political Union with Slaveholders, by the venerable Seth Sprague, of Duxbury — one of the revolutionary fathers who helped to form it.

Very late on Friday night, after having been together for nine sessions, during three days and evenings, the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

DANIEL RICKETSON,	}	<i>Secretaries.</i>
SAMUEL DYER,		
MARY P. KENNY,		

FIFTEENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 27, 1847.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:  
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1847, Aug. 23.  
Gift of  
the Society.

# REPORT.

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At the close of the Fifteenth year of the existence of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, its official servants appear before their constituents, to render an account of their doings, for the last twelve months. Half of the period allotted to a generation of mankind on earth, has passed away, since the demands of the Age summoned this Society into being. It has had an eventful, and an instructive, experience. The tyrannic omnipotence of Slavery had been seen and felt for long years before it created, by the natural law of moral antagonism, its deadly opposite, in the Modern Anti-Slavery Movement, of which this Society was the first organic embodiment. But the development of the purposes of the Slave Power, and the strides with which it has stalked towards its design, have been more undisguised and more rapid, within the last fifteen years, than ever before. Each succeeding year has been more full of the fate of the black, and of the white, races on this continent, than its predecessor. Yearly has it become more and more difficult to compress within the necessary limits of our Report, the most imperfect outline of the facts in our public history, in the direction of which, Slavery has had a controlling hand. In what national act, what scheme of public policy, what essential detail of government, executive, or diplomatic, is there, that is not a swift witness to the unsleeping watchfulness, and the omnipresent omnipotence, of the Supreme Power, that rules over this people? This year, especially, are we appalled by the

thick coming crowd of events, which perplex us with the embarrassment of choice. So that the glance at the aspects which Slavery has presented during the past year, with which we are expected to accompany the recital of our own official acts, though they were never so many, so important, or so suggestive, must be even more cursory and perfunctory, than usual. But we are sure that the Society will extend to us its usual kind indulgence for deficiencies which arise from the nature and necessities of the case.

#### THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

The attitude of the American Republic before the world, is signally changed since we last attempted to describe it. It has outstripped our swiftest prophecies in its career of crime. What we then only ventured to forebode as distant contingencies, have become part of our national history. A twelve-month ago, the admission of Texas seemed to be our crowning calamity, the contemplation of which was enough to absorb all our thoughts and apprehensions. Now it has dwindled into the little cloud, not bigger than a man's hand, which only heralded the ominous blackness which overshadows our present horizon. Then the further dismemberment of the Mexican domains for the base uses of Slavery, was a probability, indeed, but a remote one, discerned faintly among the shadows of the distant Future. Now, vast tracts of country have been seized upon by right of conquest, and erected into Territories of the United States, by officers of the army and post-captains of the navy! Our invading legions are encamped far in the heart of Mexico, and what proportion of her free soil she may be compelled to relinquish to the demands of Slavery, before we will relax our gripe upon her throat, is yet to be decided by the fortune of battle.

The position of Mexico is also materially different from what it was at that point of time. Then she appeared to be cowed and disheartened in the presence of her bullying antagonist. It seemed as if she were prepared to submit to the indignity and injury our insolent rapacity had visited upon her, with no more effectual resistance than her words of protest. And, perhaps, had our arrogant cupidity been content with the spoil we had

then secured, she might have despaired of redress, and yielded her rights without an armed struggle for their recovery. But, when, encouraged by what we esteemed her political weakness and the distraction in her councils, we took armed possession of ground, which, even upon our own showing, was at least debatable, and advanced our outposts within gun-shot of her acknowledged frontier, her resolute resistance to the prosecution of our piratical incursion into her territories, has proved that she is not the contemptible enemy we had taught ourselves to despise. When she saw her nationality at stake she was aroused to efforts which have elevated her character in the eyes of the nations of the world. Notwithstanding the boasted laurels of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey, it is safe to say that our triumphs have been bought at an expense of life and treasure, far exceeding what Mexico has incurred by her defeats. And there is reason to believe that we have received, as yet, but the earnest of the disastrous consequences of our very successes.

Scarcely had Texas been welcomed to the society of these States, and taken her place among the legitimate daughters of the Revolution, and the bastard brood they had before adopted, when it became apparent, (what had all along been suspected, though vehemently disclaimed,) that her dower of lands was not enough to satisfy, but only to stimulate, the avarice of our Southern masters. The appetite for plunder ever grows with what it feeds on, and the easy prey they had secured, seemed only to invite their hands to yet more ample spoils. All fears of serious opposition to these further schemes for the extension of slave territory, which the loud-mouthed reclamations of the North, and especially of Massachusetts, against the Annexation of Texas might have excited, having been allayed by the tame and craven submission with which the consummation of that atrocity was endured, the triumphant South proceeded joyfully on its career of conquest.

Very soon after the Annexation was completed, the American army, under General TAYLOR, was ordered to advance to the very borders of the disputed territory. The armed occupation of territory, the title to which is yet unadjusted between two

neighboring nations, is justly regarded as an act of hostility, on the part of the occupying nation, and is a sufficient justification for a resort to arms to repel the aggression, according to the laws and customs of nations, on the part of the aggrieved Power. It is, in fact, equivalent to an invasion of its own territory, for such each party considers a disputed district, though they may agree expressly, or tacitly, mutually to abstain from actual occupation, until the question of title is amicably settled. A nation thus occupying a tract of land, the property in which is in dispute with a neighboring Power, has no more right to be surprised at the resistance of that Power, or to complain of it, than if it had invaded its undoubted domain. The first act of hostility, in such a case, is not the first cannon fired, but the first footstep of an armed force, to maintain an adverse possession of it, upon the land in question.

There can be no doubt in any reasonable mind, that the advance of General TAYLOR's command to the Rio Grande, was designed to provoke a hostile demonstration on the part of the Mexicans. A war with Mexico was demanded, for many reasons, by the predominant interest of the country, and it was desirable that the blame of the first attack should be thrown upon her. The game of President-making could be played to a better advantage, with the multiplication of patronage and the *prestige* of military glory, which would wait upon a successful war. The ever-craving appetite of Slavery for new worlds to conquer, required to be gorged anew. The immense expenditures of the public money in Texas, and the Southern country generally, which a war must involve, would give to that section an artificial impulse, which would stand in the stead of long years of production. The love of fighting, especially with an enemy believed to be incapable of defending itself, which always characterizes a slave-owning class; the hope of the plunder of churches and monasteries, and of the choice of new lands "to murder;" the spirit of adventure and the taste for military distinctions, which are abundant everywhere; all impelled the Government, by the force of the opinion of its own public, to take the measures which were intended to result, as they did, in war. The conspiracy was well concerted, too, which was to

shift the responsibility of beginning the war, from the invaders to the invaded. The wolf stood on the upper waters of the Great River, and vindicated his attempt to devour his victim, on the pretence that he troubled the waters that had flowed past him.

The success of the plan was as great as its warmest promoters could desire. Hostilities commenced. The victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma followed in quick succession, and scattered the Mexican force on the frontier. The public mind, which had been agitated by reports of the danger to which the American troops were exposed, through the dilatoriness of the War Department, was relieved and excited by successes greater than had been hoped. The war-spirit was rife in large portions of the country, and especially in the Southern, Western and Middle States. On the communication of the news to Congress, that body was thrown into a fever of patriotism. Resolutions were introduced and passed almost by acclamation, and without discussion, containing the double falsehood that war existed by the act of Mexico, and that prompt action was necessary for the safety of our army, which was at that time notoriously in no danger, appropriating ten millions of dollars for the expenses of the war, and authorizing the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers. To these resolutions there were found but FOURTEEN who dared to stem the popular tide, and record their negative to them. Of this number we are happy to know were all the members from Massachusetts, then present, with the exception of the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP and the Hon. AMOS ABBOTT. Whigs, as well as Democrats, offered no effectual remonstrance against this *coup d'etat* of the President, by which he had virtually assumed the war-making power, and plunged the country into hostilities with our neighboring Republic, without any action of Congress. They remembered the fate of the party which made opposition to a war a leading element in its policy, thirty years ago, and they dreaded lest it might be theirs. The ghost of the Hartford Convention glided in, and frightened them from their propriety and from their principles. And so both parties, with the small but honorable exception just mentioned, vied with each other in

the demonstrations of affection with which they adopted, as a child of the nation, a war which owed its paternity solely to Mr. POLK.

The Proclamation of the President for volunteers was responded to, at once, in many of the Southern, Western and Middle States. The regular army was concentrated on the Rio Grande. In due time General TAYLOR made his advances, first up the river to Camargo, and thence towards the interior of Mexico, to Monterey. Becoming master of that place, after a bloody fight of three days, he has been awaiting the arrival of reinforcements for a still onward movement. In the meantime General SANTA ANNA, having returned from his exile, was placed at the head of the Mexican forces, and is now believed to be preparing himself for a desperate effort to redeem his country's fortunes. The success of his exertions will soon be known. But whether victorious or not, we have learned by dear experience that the Mexicans are not an enemy to be despised, and we may be sure that we shall have to purchase even our victories at a fearful cost of human life, and what is of more weight with the mass of our countrymen, at a fearful cost of money.

While General TAYLOR was prosecuting these bloody successes, General KEARNEY, General WOOL, and Captain STROCKTON, of the navy, were enjoying holiday campaigns in other provinces of Mexico, which had no means of defence, and amusing themselves with making regions, as extensive as the old Thirteen States, Territories of the United States by proclamation, and appointing the executive and judicial functionaries of the same. This succinct and compendious method of enlarging the Area of Freedom, must be allowed to be an improvement upon the other methods attempted for that glorious end. How durable these conquests may be, remains to be seen, and must depend entirely upon the issue of the war with the nation of which they are component parts. Tampico, too, has been seized by our naval forces, without opposition, according to the Fabian policy of the Mexican commander. Thus a new way is opened to our forces into the heart of the country, should we be able to push our arms in another quarter.

In the midst of the calamities which have befallen their arms,

the Mexican people and Congress seem to be driven closer to one another by the pressure from without. The parties, which have so long distracted the internal economy of Mexico, appear to be united in opposition to this insulting and infamous invasion of her soil. General SANTA ANNA, and the Mexican Congress with singular unanimity, have declared it to be their fixed determination to receive no propositions for peace, and to admit of no foreign mediation, as long as hostile troops are within the bounds of Mexico, or hostile armaments threaten her coasts. This being the sentiment and purpose of any people, permanent conquest is obviously impossible. Even victory is but another name for defeat, as long as the invading force can hold no more soil than the ground they stand upon. What the result of the conflict may be, cannot be exactly affirmed. But we fear that the vastly greater resources of the United States, for the supply of both men and money, will sooner or later extort from their weaker neighbor, their own terms of peace. This event must be deprecated by every lover of humanity, of justice, and of freedom. The victories of the American armies are the triumphs of cruelty, of injustice, and of Slavery. Every good and humane man, who loves liberty and hates tyranny, however deep may be his abhorrence of war under any circumstances, must earnestly hope, in this war, and as between these parties, that success may attend upon the arms of that Power which is striving to remove from its soil a piratical horde of banditti, whose purpose is to establish anew within its borders, the Slavery which it has had the consistency and the virtue to exclude from them forever.

The fact that the actual object of the Mexican war is the strengthening of the hands of the Slave Power, and the extension and perpetuation of the institution of Slavery, is now scarcely denied. The Charleston Mercury, which speaks for the Slavery Party of South Carolina, openly avows this object, and defends the war upon the ground that it will place the control of the country forever in the hands of the Slaveholders. Other presses, of less prominence, have given utterance to the same opinion. Just at the close of the last session of Congress, a Resolution was proposed to the House, appropriating two mil-



lions of dollars to be employed by the President in purchasing a peace with Mexico, in case he should prefer that method, to conquering one. The object was, undoubtedly, to buy with this money the land which Slavery most coveted, just at the present time. To this resolution a *proviso* was added by Mr. WILMOT, of Pennsylvania, to the effect, that it shall be an express and fundamental condition of the acquisition of any territory from Mexico, by any treaty, "that *neither Slavery, nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime.*" The resolution passed the House, with the *proviso* annexed, and was sent to the Senate, on the last day of the session. What its fate might have been there, had any action been taken upon it, cannot be known, as Senator DAVIS, of Massachusetts, for some purpose best known to himself, saw fit to talk against time, until the hour of adjournment, which prevented any vote from being taken. The Slaveholders having a clear majority of four votes in the Senate, it is not at all likely that the *proviso* would have been sustained. But it would have been edifying to see what course the House would have taken with the amendment, had it been sent back to them. It is worthy of observation, that Mr. WILMOT is a member of the Democratic party, and a supporter of Mr. POLK, in general; and also, that although the Whigs were generally successful in Pennsylvania, at the late election, Mr. WILMOT was reëlected.

At the present session of Congress, a resolution to the same effect has been offered by Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York, on which no decision has yet been made. Mr. KING is also a member of the dominant party, which circumstance, in connection with that just mentioned, may lead to a hope that there is yet an element of opposition to the further extension of Slavery and the Slave Power, in quarters where it would least be looked for. But it is not to be believed that the despotic majority in the Senate, who have it in their power to block all the wheels of government, if necessary to secure their object, will relax their iron rule in a matter thus vital to the security of their own power. The Slaveholders and their Northern Allies, of both parties, are too well drilled not to fall into line when the decisive hour of action arrives. That there will be a struggle

on this point, is probable. They who consented to the Annexation of a foreign Slaveholding nation, without even requiring the contemporaneous admission of a counterbalancing Free State, and they who submitted quietly to this outrage, are vamping loudly of the bold things they are prepared to say and do on this quarrel. A position equally inconsistent and absurd on the part of men thus consenting, or submitting, to that revolutionary act, by which the very power they would use to check the further encroachments of Slavery, is taken from them forever. Indeed, it seems to us that men swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, since the Annexation, and who thus have accepted the revolution in the government worked by that act, are foreclosed from objecting to the fair carrying-out of the principle of Slave-annexation, thus incorporated with the new Constitution of Government.

We cannot foresee the precise course of the events which will be written in the present chapter of our history; but we can perceive, from the beginning, what the issue of them will be. They must be all moulded and guided by the Fate, which rules over this nation, through the crime of our Fathers and our own, — by that Destiny,

“ ——— which shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will ! ”

The tide in our affairs may seem for a moment to change its direction, and to promise to flow in a more propitious channel; but it must at last obey the inevitable law which we have impressed upon it, and bear us on to disgrace and ruin. The struggle between the two Principles in our land may look at times doubtful; but the event is certain. Slavery must, of necessity, be triumphant. It is too late for REFORM! We have put it out of our power. There is no remedy but REVOLUTION! A Revolution, beginning like all such, in the hearts and minds of men, but manifested in due time in the disruption of our present delusive Union, in the overthrow of our present deceptive Constitution, and the establishment of a new government, of which justice and equality of rights, shall be at once the end and the means, of its existence.

## MASSACHUSETTS AND SLAVERY.

The position which Massachusetts has occupied before the country and the world, in years past, with regard to Slavery, has been a conspicuous and honorable one. She has been looked upon alike by the Free States and by the Slave States, as being the leader of the public sentiment of the North, as expressed in legislative and popular action, in the great Opposition which is gradually embodying itself for a struggle with the supreme tyrant of this land. As she had led the foremost ranks of resistance to the encroachments of British domination, so she seemed desirous of being the foremost of those who were assailing the insolent aggressions of the Slave Power, on her own rights and those of universal Humanity. Her course had been, apparently, onward and upward, for some ten consecutive years. Her protests against the Annexation of Texas, repeated and enforced as the exigencies of the times called for a new testimony, her demand for the immediate Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, her recognition of the equal rights of all her citizens without regard to their complexion, her attempt to interfere for the protection of those of them who were cruelly denied their Constitutional rights of locomotion and residence, by some of the Slaveholding States, and other acts alike honorable to her sense of justice and indicative of a wise political forecast, had fixed the eyes of the lovers of liberty upon her, as the political community that was to lead the van of the great crusade against chattel Slavery, which is the appointed mission of the generation now on earth.

But her character, if rightly represented by the conduct of her chosen public servants, and of those of her sons whom she most delights to honor, has undergone a lamentable change. She appears to have become alarmed at the dangerous post of honor she had assumed, and to be in eager haste to fall back upon the position of her sister States, and even willing to conceal herself behind the most rearward of them all. She found herself in the condition of the inexperienced adept who had uttered words more virtuous than he meant, and raised a spirit of which he was afraid, and who made what haste he could to unread

the spell and relieve himself from the painful presence he had unwittingly evoked. The predominant party in the Commonwealth perceived that it was under the ban of the National Whig Party, and its chief men saw that they were looked upon with suspicious eyes by their political coadjutors. It became, therefore, necessary for them to do something to recover their standing with the general Whig Organization, and to show that Massachusetts was not, after all, so disloyal and seditious, as some of her acts had made the Sovereign of all parties suspect her to be.

The history of the last year has witnessed many of her attempts to retrace her former steps, attempts made the more awkward and ridiculous, by her effort to make it appear that her face was still turned in the direction that it had ever been. Mr. WILSON, of Natick, who has honorably distinguished himself in both branches of the Legislature, in years past, by his Anti-Slavery action, being a member of the lower House last winter, introduced an order instructing the Joint Special Committee to which were referred certain resolutions of Georgia, on the subject of Slavery and the interference of Massachusetts to ascertain the rights of her own citizens in Slave States, to report a preamble and resolution as the sense of the People of this Commonwealth. The preamble recited the fact of the existence of Slavery, its Constitutional representation, the political and personal evils which had flowed from it to the inhabitants of the Free States, and especially the Annexation of Texas, and introduced the following Resolution :

*“Resolved, That Massachusetts distinctly and solemnly announces to the country, her uncompromising opposition to the further extension and longer existence of American Slavery; that she hereby deliberately declares her earnest and unalterable purpose, to use every lawful and constitutional measure for its overthrow and entire extinction; and she hereby pledges her cordial coöperation to the friends of civil liberty throughout the Union, in every just and practical measure, that shall tend to free our country from the dominion, curse and shame of slavery, and make her great and glorious among the nations.”*

This resolution, it will be observed, was merely affirmatory of the language used, and the attitude assumed, by Massachusetts

on frequent previous occasions. It contained the saving words which should have redeemed it in the eyes of all intelligent men from the charge of *ultraism*, — “every *lawful and constitutional* measure,” — for the overthrow of slavery. But a point of time had arrived, at which such words might be understood to mean more, than in former years, and so it had to be disposed of as quietly as might be.

Mr. WILSON enforced his order in a speech of great length and excellence, which cannot be better characterised than in the words of the Liberator, at the time, that it was “unquestionably the best Anti-Slavery speech that had ever been delivered in any legislative assembly in this country, more direct, more comprehensive, and more important.” Its defects were inseparable from his position as a public man, bound by the Constitution, under which he acted, and which tied his hands at the very time he was calling out for action. During the discussion in the House, various amendments were proposed, intended to weaken or defeat the resolution, which were voted down. At last Mr. CHANDLER, of Boston, after a speech expressive of his abhorrence of Slavery and sympathy with the object of the resolutions, moved to amend *by striking out the instructing clause*, on the ground that such a course was unusual, and merely ordering the Committee to report whether any action of the Legislature was demanded on the subject of the Annexation of Texas! This amendment Mr. WILSON *accepted* and in this form it passed.

The effect of this disposition of the matter was soon seen, whatever might have been the motive of it. The Committee speedily made the following succinct Report, which for laconic terseness is not surpassed by any legislative report on record.

“In Senate, April 7, 1846.

“The Joint Special Committee, to whom, &c.

#### REPORT,

“That they consider the annexation of Texas to the United States, in a moral point of view, a great evil, and one which Massachusetts resisted as long as resistance would do any good. The evil has come. And a majority of your Committee are of the opinion that further action in the matter is not called for.

“By order of the Committee,

“GEORGE WHEATLAND, *Chairman.*”

This profound, well-reasoned and statesman-like State paper, thus informed with the wisdom and research which this sagacious majority, and its sapient Chairman, had thought it worth their while to bestow upon the most momentous event in our history, was accepted by the Senate, and sent down, together with Mr. WILSON's minority Report, to the House. There, too, it was at first accepted. But, subsequently, Mr. WILSON moved a reconsideration of that vote. After a discussion of some length, the reconsideration was agreed to, upon which Mr. WILSON moved the substitution of his original resolution, for the Report of the Majority, and it was carried by a vote of one hundred and forty-one yeas to fifty-two nays. The amendment returning to the Senate, excited an animated debate in which Messrs. BORDEN, HOAR, HOPKINSON, WATTS, KIMBALL and SALISBURY supported the measure, and Messrs. WILLARD, SHEPARD, GRAY, WHEATLAND, ALLEN, CARY and MAYNARD opposed it. The arguments of the opponents of the resolution showed conclusively how little wisdom it takes to govern the world, or at least this small part of it. Among others, Mr. WHEATLAND made this statement, illustrative of his notions of public duty and political morality, in a speech denouncing this resolution, and all the past Anti-Slavery action of the State, — *"that he had voted for some of those resolves, BUT HAD NEVER APPROVED OF THEM!!"* The whole matter, however, was indefinitely postponed, on motion of Mr. WILLARD, of Worcester, by a vote of twenty to sixteen! And so the Legislature refused even to record a word of protest against an act which the voice of Massachusetts, as uttered forth by her servants, in former years, had denounced as a crime of the deepest moral and political turpitude, and a just occasion for the Dissolution of the Union!

Here ended the Legislative action on this matter. The Executive action was yet to come. Towards the close of May, the President of the United States, through the War Department, in accordance with the authority granted to him by Congress on the 13th of that month, to accept the services of Fifty Thousand Volunteers, transmitted a civil request to Governor BRIGGS for a Regiment of Infantry from Massachusetts. His Excellency, not to be outdone either in politeness or in patriotism,

incontinently issues his proclamation (May 26th) calling upon the citizen soldiers at once to enrol themselves, and to be in readiness when the exigencies of the country should require their services. The reasoning by which this pillar of the church, as well as of the State, enforced this modest request was to this effect. First, he quotes the notorious falsehood of the preamble of the War resolutions of Congress, "*that by an act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists*" between the two countries, and then proceeds, after reciting the authority touching volunteers and the request made upon himself, thus to express his sense of the political ethics of the case.

"Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to *the origin or necessity of the war*, the constitutional authorities of the country have declared that a war exists.

"It is alike *the dictate of patriotism and humanity* that every means, honorable to ourselves, and just to our enemy, should be employed to bring 'said war to a speedy and successful termination.' \* \* \*

"*A prompt and energetic co-operation of THE WHOLE PEOPLE*, in the use of those means, is eminently calculated to produce that most desirable result."

This, it seems, is the idea of patriotism and humanity entertained by the Baptist Deacon of Pittsfield, who is also the Whig Governor of Massachusetts! No matter what may be the origin or necessity of a war, provided a profligate Government have embroiled us in one, patriotism and humanity plainly dictate to us that we must help them to fight it out! Not merely to submit to the stringent requisitions of law, when applied, but *to volunteer* to fight their battles, upon their simple asking! For it must be borne in mind, that this was no requisition for a draft of militia, which the President might make as Commander-in-Chief of that arm of defence; but merely a request for voluntary assistance, for which Congress agreed to provide pay and subsistence, but to compel which no process of law existed or could be created. The whole arrangement was purely voluntary, and in no sense compulsory. The part taken by Governor BRIGGS was as uncalled for, by any rational construction of constitutional duty, as that of any of the volunteering officers or soldiers.

This course of Governor BRIGGS was the more strange and surprising, inasmuch as this war, in aid of which he thus gave the weight of his personal and official influence, was a direct consequence of the Annexation of Texas, of which act when in prospect only, he had expressed himself, but three little years before, in the following emphatic terms. "We hold," says the solemn "Appeal to the People of the Free States," signed by him and nineteen other members of Congress, March 3, 1843, "we hold that the objects of this new acquisition are THE PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY, and *the continued ascendancy of the Slave Power.* \* \* That there is NO CONSTITUTIONAL POWER delegated to *any department* of Government to authorize it; that no act of Congress, or Treaty of Annexation, can impose the least obligation upon the several States of this Union to submit to *such an unwarrantable act.* \* \* We hesitate not to say that Annexation, effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal Government, or any of its departments, WOULD BE IDENTICAL WITH DISSOLUTION. It would be *a violation of our National Compact*, its OBJECTS and DESIGNS, and the great elementary principles which entered into its formation, of a character *so deep and fundamental*, and would be an attempt TO ETERNIZE *an institution, and a power* so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the Free States, as, in our opinion, not only *inevitably to result* IN A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, BUT FULLY TO JUSTIFY IT; and we not only assert that the people of the Free States 'OUGHT NOT TO SUBMIT TO IT,' but we say, with confidence, *they would not submit to it!* We know their present temper and spirit on this subject too well to believe, for a moment, that they would become *participes criminis* in any such subtle contrivance for the irremediable perpetuation of an institution which the wisest and best men who formed our Federal Constitution, as well from the Slave as the Free States, *regarded as an evil and a curse*, soon to become extinct under the operation of laws to be passed prohibiting the Slave trade, and the progressive influence of the principles of the Revolution."

When the same man who had expressed himself thus clearly



and forcibly, when a Member of Congress, was found not only submitting without resistance, when Governor of Massachusetts, to an act of which he had affirmed that the people of the Free States, OUGHT NOT and WOULD NOT submit to it, which would be IDENTICAL WITH DISSOLUTION, and would FULLY JUSTIFY IT, but ready to become himself *particeps criminis*, not in "a subtle contrivance," but in an open war waged for "*the irremediable perpetuation*" of Slavery, neither he, nor his friends, ought to have been surprised at the rebuke which his conduct met with from the Abolitionists of New England, assembled in their Annual Convention. On the day the Proclamation was issued, the New England Convention being then in session, Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS introduced the following resolution, which, after ample discussion, was passed unanimously.

"*Resolved*, That at the bar of Liberty and Humanity, we impeach GEORGE N. BRIGGS, the author of the proclamation dated yesterday, as perjured on his own principles, as a traitor by his own showing, — as one, before whose guilt the infamy of Arnold, and of the Missouri compromisers, becomes respectability and decency; since, under oath to support the Constitution of the United States, he calls on the Commonwealth to rally to a war, which is waged to defend and protect an act, (the Annexation of Texas,) which he has himself so often declared, 'a violation of the Constitution,' 'equivalent to Dissolution,' — a triumph of Slavery and Despotism, — one to which it was the basest calumny to suppose that Massachusetts would ever submit; — and that we call upon the people to *forget him* as emphatically as they did Mason of Boston, and Shaw of Lanesboro', for their treason in 1820!"

The excitement which this resolution caused, the disturbance it occasioned and the untimely end to which it was the cause of bringing the Convention, will be related when we come to give an account of that meeting. It is enough to say that it was the occasion of drawing from Governor BRIGGS a defence of himself, at the dinner of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. It rested entirely upon the assumption that he was bound, as a public officer, to do what he did, and that it was for doing a duty "prescribed by the laws," that he had been condemned. "Having sworn," he concludes, "in the presence of the constituted public authorities to support the constitutions of the

Commonwealth and the United States and the laws passed under them, the public officer who should refuse to perform the duties, made imperative by his oath, is a 'perjured' traitor!" Meaning, of course, to imply that it was one of the duties 'made imperative by his oath of office' to assist in carrying out a measure, in intention and in terms, purely and strictly *voluntary*! President POLK did not pretend, the Secretary of War has expressly disclaimed, that there was any obligation on the part of the Governors of the States to whom invitations to this work were sent, to come up to it. Governor BRIGGS was no more constitutionally obliged to act as the recruiting sergeant-general for Massachusetts, than Colonel CALEB CUSHING or Captain EDWARD WEBSTER were constitutionally obliged to *volunteer*. The one act was as much a matter of volition, of pure choice, as the other. Governor BRIGGS's defence of himself, is an absurdity in its nature, and a contradiction in its terms. He has placed himself in this predicament. Either he lacks intelligence to discern what are "the duties made imperative by his oath of office," and to distinguish between a *command* and a *permission* to do a certain act; or else, he has deliberately misrepresented his position, put a false gloss upon facts, and attempted to make the people believe a delusion and a lie, in order to cover up his own time-serving, cowardly and flagitious conduct. He may choose whichever horn of the dilemma he prefers; but it would defy the casuistry of a Jesuit to discover any way of escape by which he can avoid impaling himself upon either the one or the other.

Having thus briefly recounted the action of the Legislature, and of the Executive, it remains for us to tell what the people of Massachusetts have done in this behalf. Notwithstanding the defence which His Excellency had made of himself, and the readiness which the leading metropolitan papers, and the most prominent members, of his party showed in accepting it, still there was a deep undercurrent of dissatisfaction with his course, and that of the Whig party, in relation to the Annexation and the war, and that in its own ranks. This feeling was kept for some time from developing itself fully, by the strictness with which party discipline was enforced by those in command at

Head Quarters, and the difficulty the malcontents found in finding channels for the effectual expression of their opinions. Some of the country newspapers, however, took an honorable stand in opposition to the pro-slavery action, or inaction, of the most prominent members of the Boston, or manufacturing, section of the Whigs. Disaffection had existed in the Whig ranks from the time of the Anti-Texas Convention held in Faneuil Hall in the winter of 1845, arising from the coldness, and even opposition, which that movement met with from the chief men of the party. This discontent was increased by the continuance of the same coldness and refusal of coöperation when the Anti-Texas Committee was organized, in the autumn of the same year, for a last desperate effort of resistance, or of protest, against the final completion of the crime, on the part of the same eminent Whigs. At last, though there was no proper division of the party, the distinction between the Anti-Slavery and the Pro-Slavery portions of it, became sufficiently marked.

Among the first named section of the party were to be found much of the talent, and of the weight of character, belonging to it. In the latter was arrayed its monied strength, its manufacturing influence, its dull respectability, and its self-glorifying piety. The odds were tremendous, and it is not at all surprising that the Pro-Slavery division triumphed. It was not, however, without a struggle. The Boston Whig became the organ of the movement portion of the party. The Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS conducted it with great ability, and it was the medium through which many minds of distinguished ability and excellence, found an utterance for their testimony against Slavery. Its effect was very considerable on the general mind of the party. The apprehensions of the retrograde section exaggerated their danger. It seemed at one time as if a revolution was about to occur in the politics of this State, analogous, if not equivalent, to that which those of New Hampshire had undergone. But the want of union, of concert and of a sufficiently aggressive spirit on the part of the Conscience Whigs (as they were denominated by their adversaries, with an odd, but perhaps not an uncharacteristic, taste in irony,) prevented them from pushing their advantages and achieving the laurels which appeared to await them.

There can be but little doubt that had the Anti-Slavery Whigs made opposition to Governor BRIGGS and all who had evinced a servile or a cowardly subservency to the spirit of Slavery, — particularly as displayed in the Annexation of Texas and the consequent war with Mexico, — the avowed basis of their movement, that they would have carried the State; — not so much by weight of numbers, as of character, — not so much through their actual strength, as through the distempered fears with which honesty and consistency always alarm political expediency. There is good reason to believe that if this course had been taken, if it had been distinctly intimated that they would not support the nomination of Governor BRIGGS, that it would never have been made. But those gentlemen were not prepared to cut loose from their party. The Whig, the Norfolk American and other papers which had condemned Mr. BRIGGS's course in emphatic terms, nevertheless gave it to be understood on the eve of the nominating Convention, that they should not oppose his reelection, if he were put in nomination. It was a decisive test. The fears of the Pro-Slavery Whigs were dispersed in an instant. The giant which they had beheld in imagination bestriding their path, dwindled into a dwarf. The nomination of Mr. BRIGGS was made by the Convention in the manner the most offensive to the minority. The Anti-Slavery Resolutions, which were offered by Mr. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, as the expression of what seemed to that minority the consistent expression of the opinions to which Massachusetts stood committed, chiefly through the instrumentality of the Whig Party, were cavalierly rejected, with the added insult, that it was because *they were identical with those of the majority!* The majority saw that the game was in their own hands, and they played it out with spirit and success.

Governor BRIGGS was reelected by a large majority, by the people, — as why should he not have been? Both sections of the predominant party sustained him, the Democratic party was in no condition to offer any serious opposition to his election, and had little disposition to do so, on this quarrel. Many of the Anti-Slavery Whigs, it is known, refused to vote for Governor BRIGGS; but not in sufficient numbers to affect the result.

Mortifying as this event must be admitted to be, to all who have the honor, or the decency, of Massachusetts at heart, it certainly was nothing surprising, under the circumstances. We do not despair of the Republic, but we are sure that the people must have their eyes opened, and that their leaders must receive their sight, before they can accomplish their Exodus out of the land of pro-slavery darkness in which they have chosen to dwell.

Although the idea of opposition to Mr. BRIGGS had been abandoned, if it had ever been entertained, the spirit which the disgraceful condition of public affairs had aroused, could not be satisfied without some object upon which to expend itself. The course of Mr. WINTHROP in voting the war supplies, notwithstanding the lying preamble to the bill, had excited particular attention, and elicited marked animadversion, among the Anti-Slavery Whigs of Boston. His position was made the main point of attack, and its inconsistency and criminality was pointed out by various writers, but by none more forcibly and clearly than by Mr. CHARLES SUMNER. When Mr. WINTHROP was nominated anew to represent Boston in the next Congress, the elements of opposition to him concentrated themselves, and took the shape of an Independent Nomination, first, of Mr. SUMNER, and, upon his declining it, of Dr. SAMUEL G. HOWE; a gentleman whose devotion of his youth to the deliverance of Greece from bondage, was a fitting education for a conflict with a worse than Ottoman domination. This act of rebellion, the first overt act that had been committed, created a strong sensation and spread an extensive consternation in the camp of the Pro-Slavery Whigs. But the result disappointed their fears. They had thought the people of Boston better than they were. Mr. WINTHROP was triumphantly reelected by an increased majority, and thus the sanction of the Capital was given to an unscrupulous promotion of the base designs of Slavery by its Representative, at the same time that the sanction of the State was bestowed upon the analogous complicity of its Chief Magistrate!

It is difficult to understand how men who saw so clearly that the conduct of Mr. WINTHROP rendered him unworthy of public confidence, should fail to perceive that Governor BRIGGS was in

a worse category than he. Mr. WINTHROP had only voted to provide for the volunteers; Mr. BRIGGS undertook, on no compulsion, to provide the volunteers themselves. Mr. WINTHROP in a hot emergency had voted for the preamble and bill together, affirming that he voted for its main objects, and not for all its details. Mr. BRIGGS, in cold blood, endorses the falsehood of the preamble and makes it a part of his proclamation, as Governor of Massachusetts. Whatever Mr. WINTHROP had done, Mr. BRIGGS had copied, and improved upon his original. Why the one should be thought worthy of being elevated to the Chair of State, while the other deserved to be ejected from his seat in Congress, was a point of political casuistry, perplexing to common minds. And, no doubt, this perplexity diminished the vote for Dr. HOWE, as well as increased that of Mr. WINTHROP.

This was the issue of the last State campaign, which was made to depend more upon the merits of Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery than any previous one. The ecstasies of the Pro-Slavery Whigs at their success, almost rose to delirium. They called for Bell, Book and Candle, and cursed their defeated antagonists most religiously, and excommunicated them from their Household of Faith. The contest, though ending ingloriously, was the means of much wholesome Anti-Slavery agitation. A large division of the predominant party in the State occupied the ground, and employed the arguments and language, of the Abolitionists a few years since, — for which they had to encounter obloquy and violence. We discern in this circumstance a cheering proof of the progress of our principles, and in the very development of the Pro-Slavery proclivities of the leaders, and of the multitude, of the prevailing party, we see only results which we have long foreseen would follow the application of a practical Anti-Slavery test. Notwithstanding the short comings and inconsistencies of the Anti-Slavery Whigs, we cannot see so large a number of the ablest and purest members of the Whig party willing to risk their standing and prospects in it, rather than consent to its submissions to the degrading demands of Slavery, without regarding it as a ground of hope that there may yet be left a remnant sufficient to save the State at last. A nucleus around which the elements of

political antagonism to Slavery may organize themselves, a nucleus consisting of men whose political integrity, and whose personal honor, are above suspicion. We shall watch with interest the experiment of what such men can do for the deliverance of the State from her pro-slavery degradation. But we believe that they will be compelled to come to the conclusion, at last, that her deliverance is impossible as long as she remains a member of a Slaveholding Confederacy, and that her real prosperity and true honor can only be secured by the blow that shall sever the bond of the existing Union.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE, MAINE, AND NEW YORK.

The State of New Hampshire has been the scene of a singular political revolution, during the past year. A revolution to be traced to the Annexation of Texas and the attention which that atrocity had directed to the subject of Slavery. This mighty change in the attitude of a State, which had so long been regarded as the most faithful ally of the South, is largely due to the exertions of the Hon. JOHN P. HALE, of the beginning of whose efforts we gave some account in our last Report. This year the Pro-Slavery Democracy was routed, the Anti-Slavery portions of the three political parties united in the victory, and Mr. HALE is now Speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, and Senator elect for the next six years. His appearance in the Senate, as the Anti-Slavery Senator of New Hampshire, will be a scene as edifying as it is novel. Perhaps no circumstance has made the South feel that the allegiance of her white Slaves of the North, is not so unqualified and absolute as never to be shaken, as this demonstration of New Hampshire.

During the last autumn Mr. HALE visited Boston, by the request of a number of gentlemen, without distinction of party, and addressed one of the largest audiences ever assembled in Faneuil Hall, with great force and effect, on the Political Aspects of Slavery. He also addressed popular assemblies in several other towns in this State.

In Maine, also, a great change, though not so radical, has been produced in the political complexion of the State, for the

same reasons, and, in a good degree, through the agency of the same gentleman, who visited various parts of the State previous to its election. This change, as well as that in New Hampshire, was ill tidings to the Slaveholders, implying as it did, a withdrawal of the fealty of those whom they esteemed their most faithful vassals.

The history of New York has been less honorable to its inhabitants. The Convention of which we spoke in our last Report has been held, and in the Constitution which they reported, they retained the clause excluding colored persons from the right of suffrage, unless possessing a certain property qualification. But in order that the sense of the people might be taken directly on this point, it was provided that the voters should express their pleasure explicitly upon the question of colored suffrage. This subject created much sensation and discussion. Sides were taken. The division in public sentiment did not always tally with the lines of demarcation between the political parties. Whigs and Democrats were to be found on both sides. But justice requires us to say that a larger proportion of Whig presses and voters were to be found on the side of equal rights. The New York Tribune especially honorably distinguished itself by its maintenance of the right.

But to the eternal disgrace of the people of that State, when the vote was taken, an immense majority was found to be adverse to the act of justice asked of them. Accordingly, in a commonwealth where the idea of a property qualification is scouted as an absurdity, and where the avenues to the ballot-box are thrown open to every ignorant and degraded European peasant who is driven by starvation to its shores, a large population, vying in respectability and intelligence with equal numbers of native whites are denied their political rights, unless they can purchase the privilege by the acquisition of a certain landed qualification! No excuse can be given or framed for this gross and hypocritical outrage. No danger from the extension of the right of Suffrage to all the people, without regard to their complexion, can be pretended. It is the fruit of that prejudice of color, which was the offspring of Northern Slavery and is fostered by Southern Slavery. The political rights of



the free men of color of New York are offered up as an acceptable sacrifice to the Great Idol of the nation. It is an enduring disgrace to the Humanity, Christianity and Civilization of the People of New York.

#### THE SOUTH.

Those events, the effects of which we have been tracing upon the rights and interests of the North, have had their natural and necessary effect in strengthening the hands and exalting the heart of the South. The Annexation of Texas, and the war with Mexico have not only given greater security to Slavery, and greater value to Slaves, but they have had the effect of checking the progress of the Anti-Slavery sentiment in those regions. The spirit of violence and of lawlessness which always accompanies Slavery has been as rife as ever, or even more rampant than before; but we have not seen so many evidences of a growing antagonist principle, as we have discerned in some former years. The war-spirit and the increased insolence of the Slave-power sufficiently accounts for this apparent alteration for the worse. But we are confident that the Anti-Slavery spirit is not dead where it has ever manifested itself, but only sleeping.

Early in the year, the expression of a belief in the ruinous nature of Slavery to the people where it existed, cost one of the ablest men in Virginia his life. JOHN H. PLEASANTS, for many years editor of the Richmond Whig, a paper celebrated throughout the country for its talent, inserted some articles on the mischievous nature of Slavery as an economical institution, — resting its argument wholly, or nearly so, upon the injury done to the master, not upon the rights of the Slave. To the doctrine of these articles Mr. PLEASANTS expressed his entire assent. In consequence of this opinion he was obliged to retire from the editorship of the Whig, and he became connected with another newspaper. In this he became involved in a controversy with THOMAS RITCHIE, of the Enquirer, from which arose a challenge from the son of Mr. RITCHIE, followed by one of the most barbarous and butcherly duels on record, in which Mr. PLEAS-

ANTS received wounds of which he died. RITCHIE, of course, escaped unpunished.

An attempt was made about the same time in Maryland to suppress the Baltimore Saturday Visiter, as an incendiary print. Resolutions requesting the Governor to institute proceedings against Dr. SNODGRASS, were introduced by Mr. CLAGETT. He took nothing, however, by his motion, and the only effect of this assault upon the liberty of the Press, as well of some other attempts to add yet more to the burdens and trials of the free colored people of Maryland, was to produce a more general agitation and discussion of the subject. Dr. SNODGRASS, undismayed by this attack upon him, has continued ever since to maintain his independent and courageous course, rather redoubling than diminishing his Anti-Slavery testimonies. His fidelity and intrepidity are worthy of all admiration.

Very different has been the course of the other Anti-Slavery editor in the Slave States, on whose career the eyes of the lovers of liberty throughout the world were fixed with admiring interest. That career, the most brilliant one as it seemed, that opened before any man in the country, is now changed to dishonor and disgrace. Soon after the President of the United States had issued his requests to the several States for volunteers, under the law authorizing him to accept them, a report reached the North that CASSIUS M. CLAY had volunteered his services. The report was regarded at first as a mere idle rumor, — “a weak invention of the enemy,” — and no credit whatever was given to it. But it was too soon confirmed by himself, in the True American, in an article in which he announced and defended his intention of going to the wars. His justification of himself was singularly lame and impotent. He had denounced the Mexican war as part of the “disgraceful and degrading act” of the larceny of Texas, and said, “that the declaration of Congress that war exists, by the act of Mexico, is a lie.” But then “war exists!” And existing, it is our duty to support it. “*Resistance to the Government would be rebellion,*” — *therefore we must volunteer* to help it do its dirty and wicked work! And Congress, too, is of this same opinion! Fortified by these arguments, and by this authority, Mr. CLAY accepts the

command of a troop of cavalry and sets forth for the Halls of the Montezumas.

As soon as it was ascertained, by his own declaration, that it was indeed true that he was on his way to fight the battles of Slavery, all confidence in his stability of character and strength of principle vanished. The hopes which the abolitionists had delighted to entertain of the services he was to render to the cause of Freedom melted into air. The spell was broken. The enchantment was at an end. The spontaneous feeling of the great mass of his subscribers in the Free States, led them to discontinue his paper as a testimony against his course. The extensive Northern support that he received was owing mainly to the interest excited by his personal character and history, and by the belief that his paper was to be the expression of intelligent opposition to Slavery. When they discovered that the editor with whom it was identified in an especial manner in their eyes and in that of the country, had left his post and "drawn the voluntary blade" against a nation whose only crime in the eyes of this people is that it has abolished Slavery, for the purpose of reëstablishing Slavery upon soil from which it had once been banished, it seemed to them that he was either a traitor to his principles, or incapable of distinguishing between good and evil, in so palpable a case as this. In either case it appeared very absurd that they should give him their countenance and support, while he was in this state of mind and employed in this manner. And this, whatever might be the immediate motive of his conduct, whether it were a love of gold lace and fighting, a desire of recovering the caste he had lost among Kentuckians of his own condition and degree, a willingness to make amends for the disturbance he had given to the quiet of Slavery, by going to fight its battles, or a sincere belief that the standing and influence he would gain by a brilliant military career would give him a better opportunity and a new power to employ for the destruction of Slavery. Whatever his motive might be, it could be none consistent with an intelligent and earnest Anti-Slavery career. His power departed from him when he enrolled himself in the hosts of Slavery, and the lovers of liberty are compelled to look elsewhere for a champion in

the enemy's country. We mourn over our disappointed hopes, and his blighted prospects; but our experience teaches us that no support is to be expected from a reed that has once broken, through its own inherent weakness or vice, as we leaned upon it, and so, though with grief, we turn from him who has deceived us, and await the advent of another and a greater deliverer yet to arise in the heart of Slavery, to coöperate with the besieging hosts that are enclosing it on every side.

The True American was published regularly for some months after Mr. CLAY's departure for the seat of war, and conducted with eminent ability, and great anti-slavery thoroughness. Could Mr. CLAY have been entirely disconnected with the paper, so that it should no longer have been his organ, under his control, and to become again the medium of his mind after his return from his pro-slavery crusade,—in short, could the identity between him and the True American been effectually destroyed,—the abolitionists would have had every reason to be satisfied with it. But the tone and character of the paper obviously depended upon the will of its proprietor, and was liable to be changed at any moment at his pleasure,—and the will and pleasure of so very unstable and capricious a person as Mr. CLAY had proved himself to be, formed no sufficient ground for Anti-Slavery confidence and support. At the end of three or four months the paper was suddenly discontinued by order of Mr. BRUTUS CLAY, the brother and attorney of the absent owner. The pretence was that the receipts fell short of the expenses. Though this might have been temporarily true, yet it is believed that the actual amount received by Mr. CLAY from subscriptions, very considerably exceeded the *deficit*. It is affirmed that he was not cognizant with this act of his brother, who has no sympathy with his course, and is himself a large slave-owner. We believe, however, that the result will be beneficial to the cause, as we have reason to think that another Anti-Slavery paper, in more trustworthy hands, will soon be established within the limits of Kentucky. Such an enterprise has our most cordial good wishes for its success.

Since the beginning of the present year a movement has been made which may possibly test the utility of the Constitu-

tion of the United States as a safe-guard of the liberty of the Press. DR. GAMALIEL BAILEY, recently editor of the Cincinnati Philanthropist, has established a newspaper, entitled "The National Era," as the metropolitan organ of the Third Political Party, and of the American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society, in Washington. He is to be assisted by the Rev. AMOS A. PHELPS and JOHN G. WHITTIER, Esq., as corresponding editors. This event has excited some sensation in that city and in the Slaveholding region generally, and the City Government of Georgetown, has it under consideration, whether such a paper should be tolerated there. The right secured by the Constitution of the freedom of the press does not seem to enter at all into the thoughts of those who object to this measure. Whether any means, with or without the forms of law, will be taken to prevent this print from going on, is not yet known. But the fact that the right of any man, or set of men, to establish such newspaper as seems good to them, in the capital of the nation, can be a matter of question and debate, is a suggestive commentary upon the value of Constitutional guarantees, when they in any degree interfere with the convenience of Slavery. And in effect, the toleration of this, or any other, paper in any part of our Slave Territory, or its vicinity, depends entirely on the opinion of the Slaveholders as to its probable effect upon the tenure of their property.

Were the Slaveholders of that region, indeed, intelligently informed of the character of the party of which the National Era is to be the organ, and of the relations of the gentlemen engaged in it to the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, we think that they would be in no apprehension of danger from its existence among them. Did they know that that party is behind neither of the others in the warmth of its loyalty to the Constitution of the United States, and as eager as either of them to swear to support it and to perform its requisitions, they would understand the organ of such a party to be really as innocuous as the deprecatory tone of the editor would fain persuade them to believe that it is. And were they, further, acquainted with the conduct of the corresponding editors towards the Anti-Slavery movement (of which they evidently suppose those gentlemen to be a part) at the time of the malignant and treacherous assaults up-

on its life in 1840, we apprehend they would be relieved of all alarm. And when they learn the language of the resident editor respecting the Mexican war, as follows: "If we thought him (General TAYLOR) in danger, and that volunteers from this section were really needed to save him, *we should certainly postpone the articles we are now writing.* Heaven forbid that word or act of ours should have the remotest tendency to jeopard the safety of that noble officer, and his brave army;" when they come to learn this, if they have the sagacity they have usually shown, they will not see in him a very dangerous enemy to their peculiar institution. We have no personal knowledge of that gentleman, of his virtues or his talents; but we are bold to affirm that a man who could entertain and express such a feeling towards the Slaveholding leader of our national banditti, engaged in our piratical incursion into Mexico for the extension and perpetuation of Slavery, that such a man, whatever else he may be, is *not* AN ABOLITIONIST, and need not be feared, and should not be encouraged as such.

#### COMPENSATION AND GRADUALISM.

The triumphant success of the Texas conspiracy and the alarming rapidity with which it has been followed up with a wider plan of pro-slavery conquest, have aroused the attention and excited the reflection of many able minds. Schemes for the removal of the curse of Slavery, which men are beginning to perceive clings to them, as well as to the Slave, have been suggested by this new awakening in the public mind. Plans of compensation and of gradual emancipation have been broached and seized upon, as straws which may yet perchance save the sinking State. Attention has been, in a particular manner, drawn to this subject, by a letter addressed to JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, by the Hon. DAVID SEARS, of Boston, a gentleman of high social position and great private excellence, and who was one of the promoters of the Anti-Texas Convention of 1845. This letter, which was written three years ago, though but recently published, suggests a plan of prospective Emancipation, to be connected with compensation to the masters from the proceeds of the public lands. This letter has also been the

occasion of a series of very ably written articles in the Boston Courier, which are understood to be from the pen of a gentleman of the highest standing in the mercantile world, whose reputation as a profound thinker and a clear expounder of the philosophy of Free Trade is not confined to his native country.

The hints which Mr. SEARS had briefly suggested of the evils which Slavery entails upon a country cursed with its presence — of the ignorance, the idleness, the poverty, which are its necessary attendants, — are followed up more at large by this writer, and enforced by irresistible arguments, and by facts and figures which cannot lie. The unprofitable nature of Slave labor, and the vices, poverty and misery, which follow in its train, are demonstrated and illustrated with singular clearness and felicity. If the desperation with which the Slaveholders cling to their peculiar institution arose solely, or chiefly, from the pecuniary profit they receive from it, such arguments and such an array of statistics could not fail to convince them of the error of their political economy. If they cared for the general ignorance which pervades their section of country, the comparison of the intelligence and better education of the inhabitants of the Free States, might be expected to make an impression upon their minds. But of all these things, we believe that there are none more fully sensible than the Slaveholders. They know that their system is a ruinous one to the States in which they live, and they know that their own wealth would be increased by the exchange of the labor of Freemen for that of Slaves. They know that Slavery impoverishes the mind as well as the soil and the wealth of the State where it exists. That general education and intelligence cannot prevail in a commonwealth, the corner-stone of whose republican institutions rests upon Slavery. None know these things so well as they, and yet they lay hold upon the ruinous institution as if it were the very altar of their political and eternal salvation.

The fallacy in the arguments of those who think that statements of fact conclusive of the unprofitableness and mischievousness of Slavery, can induce those implicated in it to listen to propositions of gradualism and compensation, lies in the supposition that Slavery is maintained for the sake of the wealth that

it produces. It is not wealth, but **POWER**, as a means to which all men seek for wealth, that Slavery is cherished and upheld. It is because our civil institutions have been so arranged, through the folly of our fathers and our own, that the Slaveholders, in virtue of their ownership in human beings, possess a control over the policy and destinies of the whole nation, which no aristocracy ever possessed before, that they vindicate that ownership with such resolute determination. The whole number of Slaveholders not exceeding **TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND**, and the actual voters who exercise the political power (deducting women, minors and absentees) probably not much exceeding **ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND**, and this compact aristocracy having *twenty-five votes* in the House, as representatives of their property, and a clear majority of **FOUR VOTES** in the Senate, it is plain that they have an interest in the maintenance of Slavery which cannot be measured by the statistics of production. The profits on their capital invested in lands and Slaves form a very small particular in the advantages, the Slaveholders derive from a system, by virtue of which they have a controlling influence, indeed an absolute negative, upon the legislation of the country, who dictate the policy, make the Presidents, have a veto upon every nomination to office from the least unto the greatest, and in short are the governing power of the nation. They can do without great direct profits, with such profitable incidents as these. They have no interest in the education of their poor white neighbors. It is their policy to keep them as near the level of the Slaves as they can.

Ownership in human beings is the basis of the power of this Oligarchy. And what Oligarchy ever resigned its power of its own accord? A single despot has now and then in history abdicated his rule, — but an Oligarchy *never*. It never yields except to compulsion, — to the strong compulsion of the many who have long submitted to its sway. It is in vain to expect, by persuasion or by purchase, to prevail upon men invested with this sovereignty over their fellow men, to renounce that element of their condition, by which they enjoy it. Political power is not a marketable article. Men who have got it will **not** resign it except upon the sternest necessity. We are con-



strained to believe that there is no deliverance for the people of the Free States from the yoke their Fathers imposed, and they have worn so long, except by a radical and revolutionary change in our political institutions or in our political relations,—either by a change in the Constitution (which, as matters now stand, is politically and morally an impossibility,) or by a Dissolution of the Union. And we can discern no way of escape for the Slave, as long as the moral, religious, political and physical weight of the Free States is arrayed, as it now is, on the side of the Slaveholder. DISUNION, religious and political, is the only remedy sixteen years of close attention to this subject has enabled us to discover for the distempered and disjointed times in which we live,—for the deliverance of the Slave and for the enfranchisement of ourselves !

#### ENGLAND.

The Anti-Slavery history of England has been unusually full of various incident during the past year. The formation of the Anti-Slavery League, the Evangelical Alliance, the visit of Mr. GARRISON, the extensive agitation of the Slavery Question by his means, assisted by Mr. THOMPSON and the American abolitionists abroad, of which we shall speak more fully presently, have made the last year one of extraordinary Anti-Slavery animation and interest. We are satisfied that there was never a time when the character of American Slavery, the relations of the inhabitants of the Free and Slave States, the constitutional bulwarks of the institution, the position and difficulties of abolitionists in this country,—in short the actual nature of Slavery and Pro-Slavery,—were so well understood and intelligently considered, in England, as at the present time. And we believe that we could never boast of a larger and more devoted band of faithful friends, in the mother-country, than we now possess. They have been well winnowed by the agitation that has passed over the land, but it was the chaff only that was scattered by its breath.

The contributions to the treasury of the Slave, through the channel of the Boston Bazaar, were never so abundant, or so

valuable, in any of the munificent years that are gone, as in this. Besides the places from which we have learned to expect assistance, by our experience of what seems to have become almost a prescription, such as London, Bristol, Darlington, &c., we have this year received elegant gifts from a multitude of other places, and are thus put in communication with new and efficient friends. This extension of our Anti-Slavery relations in England, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, is doubtless largely owing to the visit of Mr. GARRISON and the new impulse given by him to the cause abroad. But no inconsiderable proportion of the credit of it is due to the timely publication of an excellent pamphlet, by J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., of Bristol, entitled "A Brief Notice of American Slavery and of the Abolition Movement." This tract was written for the purpose of furnishing more accurate information on these subjects, than could be easily procured in England. It is very carefully and skilfully prepared, and contains an extraordinary amount of information in a very moderate space. It was widely circulated, and unquestionably had a very beneficial effect in exciting and strengthening an intelligent interest in the cause.

The hand of death has been busy in the ranks of the English Abolitionists during the past year. It will forever be remembered, in an especial manner, as marking the time when the spirit of CLARKSON took its flight from earth. This illustrious philanthropist closed a life extending over nearly a century of beneficent years, on the 26th of September, at Playford Hall, near Ipswich, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. This is no place to attempt to recount the narrative of his life. It belongs to History, which has no brighter page than that which will record his services to his race. The first of the generous band that commenced, sixty years ago, the movement which has been successively crowned with the Abolition of the Slave-trade, and with West India Emancipation, he was the last to be removed from the scene of his toils and his triumphs. It is difficult to imagine a career more brilliant, more beneficent, and more fortunate than his. Though his crowded youth and prime of manhood were not exempt from that obloquy which is ever the authentic seal of fidelity to odious truth, he survived it, by

many years, lived to see his country purified from the guilt of the Slave-trade and of Slavery and died amidst the unanimous veneration of his age. Never was so laborious and useful a life crowned by so serene and beautiful an ending. He rests from his labors at the close of one of the longest of life's days, crowded with works of light and goodness, which melted into an evening, serene and beautiful, fit end to such a day. He has achieved for himself a name among the proudest of those that are the cherished heritage of mankind. Of all the illustrious dead that England, or the world, delights to honor, there is no one whose fame is purer or brighter, or will be more enduring, than that of THOMAS CLARKSON. He has linked his name with the deliverance of an oppressed race, with whose freedom and happiness, and with all the incidental blessings flowing from it, his name will be identified to the end of time. His victories were the victories of Peace, "not less renowned than war," and his laurels will bloom forever.

"Ne'er to the mansions where the mighty rest,  
Since their foundations came a nobler guest!  
Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss conveyed,  
A fairer spirit, a more welcome shade!"

It was a fortunate coincidence that Mr. GARRISON, who, on a former visit to England, assisted at the obsequies of WILBERFORCE, should have chanced to be there again to receive from the lips of the dying patriarch his last blessing, and from his hands his last bequest to the Abolitionists of America. He has himself left on record his appreciation of Mr. GARRISON's services to the Anti-Slavery cause, and he had expressed an earnest wish to see his face again before he died. He felt a deep interest in the progress of the Anti-Slavery Movement in this country, and his native sagacity, made more keen by long experience, enabled him to discern who were the genuine friends of the Slave in the New World and what the true method of carrying forward his cause. And in spite of the sectarian *surveillance* under which *soi disant* abolitionists of the school of the British and Foreign Society attempted to keep him, he lost no opportunity of extending to us in this country his words of counsel and of cheer. At this

last interview with Mr. GARRISON he placed in his hands one of the latest productions of his mind,—his latest offering to Liberty,—entitled “Hints to the American People in the event of a Dissolution of the Union.” Though written in his extreme old age, it is inferior to none of his former productions, in clearness of thought and vigor of expression. It sufficiently refutes, by evidence contained within itself, the malignant suggestion of the disguised enemies of the Anti-Slavery Movement in England and America, that it was the offspring of *dotage*. Thus his last hours were devoted to the great cause for which he had lived. Age could not chill, nor the fast gathering shadows of death darken, the native enthusiasm of his soul in the great behalf of human rights. His dying thoughts could not be limited by the country that gave him birth, but flew across the ocean to the land which is now the battle-ground of Liberty and Slavery. His example in death, as in life, was a precious legacy to those engaged in that glorious strife. It will strengthen and encourage them in the difficult warfare they are waging, and help to make them faithful and patient even unto the end.

The close of the year 1845, witnessed the death of one of the most faithful and able of England’s abolitionists, although it took place far from his native land, in the island where the last half of his life had been spent in the service of the African race. The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB died in Jamaica, near Falmouth, on the 15th of November, 1845, in the 42d year of his age; but the news did not reach us until after the preparation of our last Report. He was a Baptist missionary, and had vindicated his title to the office of a minister of the Gospel, by the courage, zeal and eloquence with which he maintained the rights of the colored population, in the midst of fiery persecution. In 1832 his chapel was destroyed and he was obliged to flee for his life. But it was the scene only of his mission that was changed. He rang the great truth in the ears of the people of England that Christianity and Slavery could not coëxist on the same soil, and it was in a large measure owing to his exertions that the public mind of the mother country was aroused to such a pitch of excitement, that the Government could no longer refuse to act, but was compelled to institute the measures

which ended in 1838 in universal emancipation. Having seen the success which followed his labors, he in due time returned to Jamaica to the people with whom he had cast in his lot, where he received the respect and enjoyed the influence he had justly earned. His death caused a strong sensation in Jamaica, and many thousands testified their sense of his services, and their grief for his loss, as they flocked together to follow their benefactor to his grave.

On the 16th day of March, 1846, the Anti-Slavery cause lost a long-trying friend and ardent supporter, by the death of JOSEPH PEASE, which took place at Feethams, Darlington, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. This gentleman, in public and private life, ever showed himself a zealous and consistent friend to the negro and to the oppressed of every name. He had been for many years the intimate friend and correspondent of THOMAS CLARKSON, and was the partner of his philanthropy as well as of his friendship. At a good old age, though many years younger than his venerable friend, he preceded him by a few months to the grave, followed by the regret and esteem of all who knew his worth.

In the month of October died one whose frequent and intimate communication with us, and whose thorough acquaintance with the true state of the cause in this country, made us regard him as almost one of ourselves. The character of EDWARD S. ABDY was one made up of rare qualities. He was an abolitionist of the finest water. The spurious and the worthless dwindled to their true value by his side. He alone, of English tourists in America, was able to withstand the influence of our pro-slavery air, and to see Slavery and Anti-Slavery as they are. To him the colored race was the most interesting object that this country presented to his observation, and their condition and destiny were what excited his warmest sympathy and most intelligent regard. In this country, he hesitated not to place himself by the side of the slave and of the abolitionist, even in days when the pro-slavery spirit amounted even to fanaticism. His book of travels, though one of the best ever written, was *tabooed* in consequence of his anti-slavery fidelity, and put under the ban of the servile publishers of that day. In England, his

testimonies were ever equally clear and timely. He withdrew from the British and Foreign Society, when he found that its machinery was directed rather against Abolitionists than against Slavery. He separated himself from the Anti-Corn-Law League, when it sent complimentary gifts to Mr. M'DUFFIE and Mr. CALHOUN, and thus recognized "soul-drivers and negro-jobbers, — the enemies of personal freedom, — as the friends of commercial liberty!"

An accomplished scholar, a member of the Establishment, a Fellow of one of the Universities, occupying a decided position in society, he properly estimated the dignity and historical importance of the Anti-Slavery movement, and chose his place by the side of the most despised of the human race, that he might assist in it wisely and well. The sufferings of a long and painful illness did not distract his thoughts from the chosen purpose of his life, and to the last we were receiving from him evidences of how much his heart was in this matter. And his devotion to the cause of the American slave did not cease its proofs with his life. By his will he bequeathed to one of the members of this Board, in trust for the Enterprise, the sum of FIVE HUNDRED pounds, sterling. Thus in death as in life he was found true of heart and clear of vision, and he died, as he had lived, a faithful, earnest and uncompromising abolitionist.

#### SCOTLAND.

The conflict between the faithful Abolitionists of Scotland and the Free Church, in the matter of the Blood Money, has been carried on with even more vigor during the past year than ever before. In our report of two years ago, we gave a full account of the origin and merits of this controversy, and in that of last year we described the state of the battle as it then stood. The haters of Slavery and lovers of a pure Christianity have not had their sense of the comfort that was given to the one, and the injury that was done to the other, by the reception of the price of "Slaves and the souls of men" into the treasury of the Seceding Kirk, at all diminished by the experience of another year. Nor has the agitation in the public mind which this simoniacal

act, whereby the legates of that church sought to sell the communion of saints to men-stealers for three thousand pounds, had awakened, been suffered to subside or slumber. The unwearied zeal of the true Scottish abolitionists have had the assistance, in their warfare, of our well-known friends FREDERICK DOUGLASS and JAMES N. BUFFUM, in addition to that of HENRY C. WRIGHT. For a time, also, they were aided by Mr. GARRISON, who coming to Great Britain by the invitation of Scotland, was compelled to give to her a much less amount of time and service than we could have wished.

It is impossible for us even to enumerate the great public meetings at which this question was considered by the gentleman we have named and others. One of the most considerable was held by that indefatigable body of abolitionists, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in the City Hall, on the 21st of April. This meeting appears to have been one of extraordinary interest. The speeches of Messrs. WRIGHT, DOUGLASS, BUFFUM, and GEORGE THOMPSON as reported in the Glasgow Argus, appear to have been of the highest order of their several styles, and to have been responded to by the great audience with extreme enthusiasm. It was at this meeting that Mr. THOMPSON, a name ever dear and honored by American Abolitionists, proposed the resolution inviting Mr. GARRISON to visit Scotland. This resolution Mr. THOMPSON introduced by a personal testimony to the character and services of Mr. GARRISON, and was in the following words:—

*“Resolved, That this meeting cordially sympathize with WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and his coadjutors, in their efforts to promote the abolition of Slavery in America; and that we extend to Mr. GARRISON an invitation to visit this kingdom, to cheer us by his presence and to encourage us by his counsels.”*

The resolution, as well as the remarks which ushered it in, were received with loud acclamations, and it was cordially accepted as the sense of the meeting. Many other meetings were held and addressed by some, or all, of these gentlemen, in many places, and a great impression produced upon the general mind. It is not likely, however, that the leaders, who have

committed themselves so deeply to the Slaveholding and Pro-Slavery American churches, will yield to this righteous demand of the people. The pride of opinion, the dread of acknowledging themselves to be in the wrong, and the shame of confessing that the world without was wiser and holier than the church within, will most probably prevent any concession. But, be this as it may, the good effects which have been produced in the unmasking of the false leaders, and in the increased attention which has been directed towards Slavery and the support and solace it derives from Christian fellowship, are incalculable and cannot fail to be of signal service to the cause of the slave.

We have received many other proofs of the continued and increasing interest of the people of Scotland, besides those we have recounted. The gifts to the Boston Bazaar exceeded in beauty and in value, even those of former years. The Anti-Slavery women of Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c., have shown by their works that there is no diminution of their zeal in the cause, and we would return them cordial thanks, in behalf of our enslaved countrymen, to whom their gifts were sent. We will endeavor to prove our sense of their sympathy and help by the fidelity with which we will endeavor to apply the proceeds of their bounty to the purposes for which it was bestowed.

Mr. BUFFUM, on his return home in the summer, was entrusted with a Memorial from the Ministers, Office-bearers and Members of various religious denominations in Scotland, to the corresponding classes in the churches of America. It was very numerously signed, though it was a sudden thought, and time was wanting for anything like a thorough canvass for signatures. It was exhibited in Faneuil Hall at the meeting held to welcome Mr. GARRISON home, with appropriate remarks by Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS in which he described it as the true Scottish Evangelical Alliance, in contradistinction from the false Association assuming that appellation. An address from the women of Edinburgh to those of America has been also transmitted, authenticated by more than ten thousand names, which was unrolled and commented upon with much effect, at the Bazaar in the same historical hall, on one of the evenings devoted to addresses. These expressions of sympathy with the



Slave, and of intelligent appreciation of the responsibilities and duties of the Free, cannot fail of having a beneficial influence.

#### IRELAND.

We have the same report to make of the state and progress of the cause in Ireland, that we have just rendered of her sister kingdoms. We are confident that the cause was never in a more prosperous condition than at the present moment, or a more general and instructed attention given to it. This we attribute in a great measure to the same causes which have operated in England and Scotland, assisted, as in those kingdoms, by the warmth and hearty help of the Irish Abolitionists.

The Irish contributions to the Bazaar, like those we have just enumerated, were of increased amount in quantity, elegance and value. We accept this annual increase of the tribute paid to the Image of God in chains, whose dungeon is this broad land, as a grateful evidence of an increasing and spreading sympathy with Universal Humanity. The quality of the benevolence which prompts such efforts as these, looking for no selfish return, like that of mercy, "is not strained, it blesses them that give and them that take." As the stewards of the Slave we promise to dispense the fruits of these generous labors, as we believe they would do themselves were they in our place.

#### MISSION OF MR. GARRISON.

The invitation of the Glasgow Emancipation Society to Mr. GARRISON to visit Great Britain arrived in this country not long before the New England Convention in May. At that meeting a resolution was offered expressing the pleasure the Convention felt at the invitation and at the spirit that inspired it, and its hope that his other engagements and duties would admit of Mr. GARRISON's accepting it. This resolution, after discussion, was unanimously adopted.

In consequence of this action, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society appointed Mr. GARRISON the Representative of the American Society abroad, and directed

a special subscription to be opened for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Mission. This appeal was promptly responded to, and a sufficient sum contributed and pledged in sums of varying amount to justify the undertaking of the expedition. Accordingly, Mr. GARRISON sailed for Liverpool, on the 16th of July, in the Steamer Britannia, being accompanied on his offing by the good wishes of a large number of friends who accompanied him to the wharf, among whom were many of our most intelligent and respectable colored citizens.

He arrived in Liverpool on the 31st of July, where he found our friends HENRY C. WRIGHT and RICHARD D. WEBB awaiting him, and proceeded almost immediately to London. There he remained for several weeks, during which he kept a strict watch over the Delegates to the Evangelical Alliance and the Temperance Convention, and was a swift witness against any who attempted to obtain the good opinion of the Anti-Slavery Public of England by false pretences. His presence was the immediate occasion of the formation of the Anti-Slavery League, of which we shall presently speak; and he took a prominent part in the great meeting in Exeter Hall to rebuke the Evangelical Alliance for its pro-slavery baseness.

When the business of his mission in London was over, Mr. GARRISON set forth to visit various other portions of the United Kingdom, on the same errand. It is manifestly impossible for us to follow him in his travels, or to give any detailed account of the great and successful meetings he held, generally in company with Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. WRIGHT or Mr. DOUGLASS. At Exeter and at Sheffield, at Greenock and at Paisley, at Dundee, at Edinburgh and at Glasgow, at Belfast and at Dublin, at Wrexham and at Manchester, at Sheffield, at Newcastle, and at Liverpool, and at many other places, he held large and enthusiastic meetings, at which the character of American Slavery, and of its Allies the Evangelical Alliance and the Free Kirk of Scotland, were exposed in the most searching and scorching manner. The enthusiasm with which he was everywhere received, and the vast number of cordial invitations that were heaped upon him to visit towns in all parts of the three kingdoms, which the duration of his visit rendered it impossible

for him to accept, showed conclusively that the sectarian malice which dogged his steps in England as in America, was disarmed of its power to hurt, or injured only itself.

During his Anti-Slavery tour he received much valuable aid from many whose names have been long familiar to us, and from some whose friendly offices introduced them for the first time to our acquaintance. Among the number of these invaluable friends we will only name the foremost and the chiefest, GEORGE THOMPSON, who added another claim to the large debt of gratitude which America owes to him, in the inestimable services he rendered to our friend and to our cause, by his cordial coöperation and by his admirable eloquence. Besides Mr. THOMPSON, we acknowledge ourselves deeply indebted to the many friends in England, Scotland and Ireland, who gave themselves with such earnest zeal to the furtherance of his plans, and to whom so large a share of the success that attended his mission is due. We know that they have had their reward, but we cannot help thanking them in the name of the Slave, for the service they have rendered him.

A large share of the success of his mission must also be attributed to the assistance of our able and faithful friends, DOUGLASS and WRIGHT. The former of these gentlemen has continued to win golden opinions of all sorts of people. His uncommon eloquence and rare ability have increased the interest which his condition as a fugitive had excited, and his effect upon the public mind has been great, and we believe will be durable. Mr. WRIGHT has gained to himself on the other side of the Atlantic, the same affection and esteem which the excellencies of his character and the devotion of his life and talents to great and unselfish ends had secured to him on this. Their assistance was of signal advantage to Mr. GARRISON, as well as to the highest interests of the cause before and since his visit. They have been prevailed upon to extend their visit for some months longer, to which, in view of the great service they are doing to our common cause, of which the field is the world, in its present condition in the Old World, their friends in this country, much as they desire their society and need their help, cheerfully submit, for the cause's sake.

Mr. GARRISON sailed from Liverpool for home in the *Acadia*, on the 4th of November. A large number of friends from various parts of the three kingdoms assembled at Liverpool to bid him farewell. The strong feeling they evinced on this parting occasion, was equally honorable to those who felt, and to him who had excited, such a warmth of interest in himself and in the cause he represented. After a short passage, he arrived at Boston on the 17th of November, and his return was joyfully hailed by multitudes who were impatiently awaiting his return to the scene of his usual labors. On the evening of Friday, Dec. 11th, a public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall for the purpose of welcoming him home and hearing an account of his doings. The resolutions were moved by EDMUND QUINCY, after which Mr. GARRISON gave an animated account of his experiences and of the misdeeds of the Alliance and the Free Church, which was received with the liveliest demonstrations of approbation by the audience. The Rev. Mr. KIRK had been especially invited to attend and justify the course of the Alliance, and a general invitation to the same effect extended to all its friends, but none made their appearance. Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS finished the evening with a brief but felicitous speech, in the course of which, as we have before stated, he unrolled the Scottish Memorial and made it a text for much of his discourse.

We believe that Mr. GARRISON's visit to the British Islands will produce the happiest effects upon our relations with the Abolitionists of those countries, and upon the public sentiment of their inhabitants. It is not improbable that his uncompromising fidelity, and the searching tests he applied to Anti-Slavery conduct and principles, may diminish somewhat the number of our professing friends (though we have seen as yet no reason to apprehend it); but in such case, they that remain, having stood the assay, are of the more value from their very separation from their spurious companions. The calumny and detraction by which his enemies, and those of the Slave, had attempted to lie his life's life away, in this country, followed him on his way, enforced with all the zeal of malice by the pro-slavery American Clergymen, whose real character he had exposed, and by

their sectarian English accomplices. The same falsehoods which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had scattered over the world, under their official seal, six years before, were revived and put in circulation anew. The Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. COX; in particular, with all the venom of an apostate abolitionist, aimed his Parthian arrow against his character, just as he thought he had turned his own back upon the English shores. But the disaster of the Great Britain having cast him up, Jonah-like, again upon those coasts, he was obliged to encounter the withering denunciation and the general scorn which he had hoped he should escape by flight. The same Reverend renegade undertook to try conclusions with FREDERICK DOUGLASS for a rebuke he had administered to the pro-slavery clerical delegates at the Temperance Convention, but received a chastisement in return, in a letter admirable for its keenness of sarcasm and severity of truth, the marks of which he will carry with him to his grave. But the presence of Mr. GARRISON was all-powerful to refute these slanders, and the shafts of his enemies only wounded themselves. The intimate relations he has formed for us with our Trans-Atlantic brethren, the efficient scheme of coöperation which he assisted in forming, and the awakened attention and fresh zeal of the British Anti-Slavery Public, to which his mission so largely contributed, will render that event a marked point in our history, and should make us rejoice in its auspicious inception and its prosperous completion.

#### THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

The last year will be memorable for the illustration given of the prevailing power of an evil principle in any combination into which it is admitted, however strong the apparent expediency of such a compromise may be. The history of the Evangelical Alliance is full of instruction to British Abolitionists, as to the impossibility of coalition with Slavery, or Pro-Slavery, for any good purpose. The Conference which formed this Alliance was first suggested by a Conference held at Liverpool in October, 1845, which issued a Call inviting Christians hold-

ing certain specified opinions, technically termed "Evangelical," to meet in assembly in London to devise some plan of Christian Union, whereby they should heal the scandal which their theological quarrels had brought upon them. This was the ostensible object, but a more weighty one was, probably, to make an alliance offensive and defensive, like that of the Jewish Sects at the time of the Siege of Jerusalem, among that class of sects, for their protection against the assaults of Catholicism on the one hand, and of Liberalism on the other. This invitation was sent all over the world and to the American churches among the rest.

On the 31st of March, 1846, the Aggregate Committee, which was charged with the getting up of the Conference, adopted the following resolution, in a meeting at Birmingham :

"That while this Committee deem it unnecessary and inexpedient to enter into any question at present on the subject of Slaveholding, or on the difficult circumstances in which Christian brethren may be placed in countries where the law of slavery prevails; they are of opinion that *invitations ought not to be sent to individuals, who, WHETHER BY THEIR OWN FAULT, OR OTHERWISE, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves.*"

There was, surely, nothing fanatical or extravagant in this *proviso*, which we would fain hope does not embody the "Evangelical" idea on the sin of Slavery, in Great Britain. But time-serving and contemptible as was this expression of opinion, it was made too late. The invitations had been issued. The pro-slavery delegates, and at least one Slaveholder (Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, of Charleston, S. C.) accepted it, and, although they were met at the threshold of the Conference by a Resolution of the Provisional Committee, inviting their especial attention to the Birmingham Minute, they claimed and took their seats by virtue of the original document of invitation, and of their signature of the Approval of the Doctrinal Basis. Whether the inviting Conference could complain of this refusal to submit to their subsequent expression of opinion as to who ought to be invited to join it, on the part of those who had already received their invitations, we leave for their own decision. But it is very clear that when these persons, whom, on second

thoughts, they meant to exclude, were in possession of their seats, it was their first duty to settle the MORAL BASIS, in such a manner as should exorcise them from their Holy body on the shortest notice.

But such was not their course. It is very plain that the British brethren had a wholesome fear of the American brethren before their eyes, and were nervously apprehensive of the explosion which they knew the introduction of the subject of Slavery would produce. They, accordingly, first proceeded to settle the Doctrinal Basis of the Alliance. All was outward peace for the first week of the Meeting. Though there were differences of opinion as to the articles of belief, essential to Christian Union, nothing occurred "to disturb the delightful harmony they enjoyed," to use the words of the Rev. Mr. BRAINERD, of Philadelphia, until the dreaded spectre of American Slavery, to whose presence they had resolutely shut their eyes, compelled their notice and set them by the ears. The first intimation of its presence was given by the Rev. Mr. PATERSON, in a resolution that "Facts relating to Slavery, and the condition of our brethren in bonds in every part of the world," be added to the list of the objects of the Alliance. This proposition was opposed by the Rev. J. ARTHUR, because this was a "*Christian Alliance, and its design the extension of religion and particularly the promotion of brotherly love!*" The Rev. E. N. KIRK, also, thought that the object of the Alliance was the promotion of Christian Union, and that if the subject of public morals was broached it would endanger its existence! This logic seems to have been conclusive and the motion was withdrawn.

But scarcely were the minds of the brethren relieved from their present distress than they were again thrown into stronger convulsions by the motion of the Rev. JOHN H. HINTON, seconded by the Rev. JOSHUA V. HIMES, that after the word, "persons," in the article concerning membership, the words, "not being Slaveholders," be inserted. After the remarks of Messrs. HINTON and HIMES, in support of the motion, the chairman, Sir CULLING EARDLEY SMITH, "called the attention of the audience to the silence and calmness of the American

brethren, and expressed his admiration of the grace of God in enabling them to listen to what must have cut them to the heart's core, with so much Christian meekness!" Whether the grace of God was exhausted, or whether the silence of the American brethren was only owing to their not having had a chance to speak, we cannot affirm, but they certainly made themselves large amends, as soon as they could get a hearing. The Rev. Mr. BRAINERD, Dr. COX, Mr. POMEROY, Dr. SMYTH and Dr. PATTEN followed each other in rapid succession, and must have convinced the chairman that he had been thankful for very small mercies. The only gentlemen who spoke, besides, at this session, were Dr. WARDLAW, who proposed expressing their abhorrence of Slaveholding, but letting in the Slaveholder all the same! and Mr. MUNROE, whose opinion resembled that once expressed by the Rev. Dr. GANNETT, of Boston, in relation to the Unitarian Association, that "*silence* was the mission" of the Alliance, in regard to Slavery!

The Conference then adjourned in a high state of excitement. Nothing was to be heard in the Hall but excited discussions about Slavery and its incidents. The American delegates felt that the hour was come, and that they must strike a decisive blow. Their arguments in the morning, apparently, had less effect than they had hoped, for they were driven to a truly desperate step to bring the Conference to terms. **THEY WENT WITHOUT THEIR DINNERS!!** The greatness of the emergency called for a corresponding effort. The Anti-Slavery spirit, thought they, is of a kind that "goeth not out save by prayer and *fasting*." The effect was electrical. It was a thing the English brethren could not understand. Their sympathies for the three millions of black men who had lost every natural, civil, social and religious right, vanished in their concern for the three score of black coats that had lost their dinner! The sufferings of the American confessors were great, but they were triumphant. Their hunger was swallowed up in victory.

In the afternoon, after a long discussion, the whole subject was referred to a large Committee, which at last submitted a report of which the following is the *gist*: "*That no branch will*



*admit Slaveholders, who, BY THEIR OWN FAULT, continue in that position, from a regard to their own interests!"* Mr. HINTON, who first moved this question, and who is the Editor of the British and Foreign Reporter and a member of the Broad Street Committee, moved its adoption! Thus admitting that a man may steal his brother, *without fault*, in some cases! All that Slavery need to ask! An amendment was moved by the Rev. JOHN NELSON peremptorily excluding Slaveholders. It was, however, rejected and the Report adopted.

One would have thought that the American brethren might have been content with this concession. But, no! This slight ovation was not enough. They must have a full triumph. All that the British brethren got by it was that the American brethren consented to eat their suppers that night. The next day sundry protests were put in, and finally the doings of the day before were reconsidered and rescinded! Verily, **THEY ARE ALL ONE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES!**

Whatever may have been the object of the British members of the Conference that formed the Alliance, it is not too much to affirm that the main object of the American delegation, of all sects, was to get the approval of the British religious public of their course in regard to Slavery, in this country. They have felt the rebukes which have come from time to time, from single churches and separate religious connexions, and they were resolved to make a stand for their religious lives. Being a compact body, of one mind upon this subject, they had much the same sort of weight which the Slaveholders have in our politics. Like the Slaveholders, they were resolute, desperate and united, and they prevailed. Sectarian selfishness was too much for the anti-slavery humanity of the British majority, and they succumbed. The meanness and cowardice of their conduct are as much more deserving of scorn than that of pro-slavery Americans, as their position is better and their temptation less.

It is but justice, however, to say that this Conference represented but a very small part of the British religious public; and that the general voice of the religious press loudly condemned its conduct. The great mass of the delegates were from the Wesleyan Methodists and the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

There were very few from the other dissenting sects of Great Britain, even of those which were not excluded by the terms of membership, and scarcely any from the Established Church. The iniquity of its doings should therefore be visited solely upon the heads of the perpetrators, and of those who justify and support them. The union, possibly, of the Free Church delegates (who were, of course, rejoiced at an opportunity to gain companions in their shame) and those from America, may have been enough to decide the question. They both went home comforted and strengthened in their wickedness.

The Rev. JOSHUA V. HIMES, formerly a member of this Board, was the only one of the American delegates who bore the testimony of a man and a Christian on this occasion. His manly and independent position in the midst of the surrounding pro-slavery pressure was in the highest degree honorable to him. The conduct, also, of the Rev. JOHN NELSON and of Mr. STANFIELD of Belfast, was of the highest order of anti-slavery merit, and deserves great honor for its fidelity and consistency. It is right, also, to mention that a large number of members of the Alliance, it is said not less than fifty, have withdrawn in consequence of its pro-slavery position.

Although the Alliance was organized, yet, in effect, it died at the moment of its birth, the victim of Slavery. It was agreed that the several branches of the Alliance should settle the question of their own membership. The English Alliance, when relieved of the presence of American pro-slavery, yielded so far to the anti-slavery spirit of the country, as to exclude British Slaveholders from its own communion. But its resolution was so worded as to leave them free to receive any of their *American* Slaveholding brethren to the fellowship of their Branch, if they pleased to do so. But the cowardly and truckling spirit its members had evinced before the bullying of Slavedrivers and their tools, had made them and their organization so contemptible and ridiculous in the eyes of the British public, that it will have but a name to live, while it is dead. The American Branch has not yet been organized, and we venture to predict that it never will. The "Bulwark of American Slavery" will be content with the new entrenchment with

which they have fortified it in Great Britain ; they will not incur the risk of such another scene in this country. It is not at all likely that another general meeting will ever be held. This was the disgraceful life and ignominious death of the Great Evangelical Alliance. May every organization, religious or secular, that consents to take Slavery to its heart, for its own advantage, find, like the Alliance, that its embrace is fatal !

#### THE ANTI-SLAVERY LEAGUE.

Just before the meeting of the Evangelical Conference, another Alliance was formed in London, of another character, and composed of men of a different calibre. A true Evangelical Alliance, if that name should be interpreted to mean an association for the practical application of the truths contained in the Gospel, to remove the greatest crime of the age. The Anti-Slavery League was formed at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Monday, the 10th of August. Its object is to act for the Abolition of Slavery, in every land, but with special reference to that in the United States, in concert "with the uncompromising Abolitionists who compose the American Anti-Slavery Society." On the 17th of August a large meeting was held at the same place, by the League. GEORGE THOMPSON was called to the chair and explained the nature and purposes of the League. It was addressed by Messrs. JAMES HAUGHTON, HENRY C. WRIGHT, GARRISON, DOUGLASS, and VINCENT, with great effect. The only opposition evinced was on the part of the Rev. JOHN H. HINTON, the editor of the British and Foreign Reporter, of the quality of whose Anti-Slavery we have just seen a specimen, who entered an appearance for American New Organization, and a Mr. COLLYER, of New York, (understood to be the somewhat notorious Dr. COLLYER) who spoke as the advocate of the Slaveholders themselves.

On the 14th of September the League held another public meeting in Exeter Hall, to review the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance in relation to American Slavery and Slaveholders. The Hall was densely crowded and an intense interest exhibited. The Rev. J. BURNET was called to the chair and

opened the meeting with a pertinent and impressive speech. He was followed by Mr. GARRISON, who exposed the guilt of the Alliance in the most cogent and felicitous manner. The Rev. J. PRESTON attempted to divert the attention of the audience from the great truths they had heard, by raising the false issue of "infidelity." He was answered in the most conclusive manner by Mr. THOMPSON, who proceeded to make one of the most brilliant of his orations, in which he went into the whole merits of the case, with the most searching analysis, and swept his audience along with the most convincing eloquence. This meeting produced a deep and beneficial sensation, and answered the purpose for which it was assembled in the most triumphant manner.

Meetings in behalf of the League have been held in many places, and great numbers have enrolled themselves on its lists. Many, in this country, have rejoiced in the opportunity to unite themselves with the generous friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the other side of the Atlantic. We hope that yet greater numbers will give the evidence of sympathy with the good-will, and coöperation with the active exertions, of the British Abolitionists, which enlisting in the League affords. We hope that the name of every Abolitionist will be found upon the American roll, when it is forwarded to the Parent Association. It is due to our Foreign friends as a proof that their valuable assistance is properly appreciated. For we think that the value of the League to our cause cannot be over-estimated, if its operations are carried on in concert and with vigor.

There exists a large amount of Anti-Slavery feeling, and a warm sympathy with the American Society in its principles and measures, throughout Great Britain and Ireland; but there has been wanting, hitherto, a fitting medium through which this feeling and this sympathy could make themselves heard and felt. This has now been provided, and we cannot doubt that the benefits of intelligent coöperation will soon be perceived in the aspect and the progress of the cause.

The assistance we have received from the British Islands, in times past, though it has been most intelligent and liberal, has been extended by hands widely separated from each other,

and having few or none of the advantages of concert of action. Words of encouragement were borne to our ears by the breezes as they swept across the ocean, and gifts rare and beautiful were cast with a generous emulation into the treasury of the Slave; but they that were thus ready to give us the help of their voices and their hands, were scattered far apart from each other, and had, as a general thing, no other common tie than that which connected them with us.

The establishment of the Anti-Slavery League will supply this deficiency. A bond of union is created between the true Abolitionists of the Old World, whose links extend across the Atlantic and unite them in a tangible tie of brotherhood with those of the New. Facilities of spreading the knowledge of the condition and the necessities of the cause in this country will be greatly increased. Communication will be more frequent and more general. Those friendships, which it has been one of the blessings and the rewards of this warfare to have created with men and women whose faces we have never seen, will be multiplied. The actual progress of the cause, and the satisfactions of laboring in its behalf, will be infinitely promoted by this timely measure.

One of the chief advantages which we anticipate from it, is the increased opportunity it will give for creating, and expressing, a yet stronger abhorrence of American Slavery in the British Islands, than even that which now exists there. We apprehend that the knowledge of the peculiar character of our slavery is but imperfectly understood in "the fast-anchored Isle." The general horrors of Slavery are known and abhorred; but its intimate relations with our State and our Church, and its ramified interlacement with all our civil, religious and social life, must of necessity be but slightly known by great multitudes. The peculiar despair that broods over the Slave of a democratic master, and the perplexing and ever varying obstacles which the American Abolitionist has to encounter, form a lesson which the British philanthropist must learn, before he can render them the highest and most intelligent service in his power. The opportunity to learn this lesson, and to put it to its best use, will be one of the main advantages of the League.

The inhabitants of the mother-country, in the little thought people are usually inclined to bestow on distant nations, are not aware of the mighty influence the public opinion of England has upon that of America. England is much nearer to America than America to England. Though the connection with her is no longer *colonial*, it is still, in a very important sense, *provincial*. She is our metropolis after all, to which we look for the fashion of our thoughts as well as of our coats. We vehemently disclaim any such feeling, but the very vehemence of the disclaimer betrays its existence. The absurd sensitiveness which our people have ever displayed with regard to the exposure of the peculiarities of speech and manner of vulgar Americans (exposures, which derive their sting solely from their truth) made by British travellers, shows how keenly alive they are to the opinion of the British public.

The satire of Sydney Smith had no small share in shaming the "drab-colored men of Pennsylvania" into at least a partial and apparent abandonment of their repudiation. The chapter of Dickens on Slavery was perhaps more extensively read than any tract on the subject ever published. The speech of Macaulay, on the Sugar Question, was heard from the St. Lawrence to the Sabine, or the Rio del Norte, or whatever may be our flying frontier on the South-west. The increased facilities of communication with Great Britain, and the increased intercourse which has flowed from them, between the two countries, has enlarged the sphere, and multiplied the force, of British opinion on the American mind. Every body reads English newspapers and periodicals. We borrow the manners, we copy the customs, we imitate the follies of the English. The question uppermost in most cis-Atlantic minds is that asked of Mungo Park by the King of Dahomey — "What do they think of us in England?"

This being the case — as it is, though it may be indignantly denied — how great is the responsibility of the English people, in the matter of American Slavery! It is not too much to affirm that its fate lies in their hands. The dominion of the Slave Power is so fastened upon us by the weak and wicked compact which our fathers made with it, that there is no political machinery that can be put in operation for its overthrow;

because, by that compact, the control of the whole political machinery is put into its hands. No aristocracy ever yet resigned its power, except upon compulsion. The only compulsion applicable to this case is that of the public opinion of the world. And England is the world to America.

Let the general mind of England (using that term for the Empire,) become thoroughly possessed of the facts of American Slavery, and obey the impulses which such facts must create in every generous bosom, and the hand of destiny will have written the words of doom upon the walls of our Babylon. When public sentiment is such in the British Islands, that no Slaveholder can be received into any pulpit or at any communion table; when an inscription like that at Dryburgh Abbey warns off all men-stealers from every private estate; when it is the avowed resolution of the nation, that no Slaveholder shall be received at court, in a public capacity; when the force of an enlightened public opinion is brought to bear, not only on slavery, but on pro-slavery, in all the relations of public and private life, of the court, the church, and the dinner table; the circle of fire which has been already kindled around the scorpion will grow hotter and hotter, and close nearer and nearer, until it will be compelled to bury its sting in its own brain, and rid the world, by a blessed suicide, of its monstrous existence. It is to promote this state of public feeling, and to direct it in the wisest manner, that the League has been instituted.

Especially do we honor the clear-sighted philanthropy of the men who have set this agency on foot, which enables them to see the all-comprehending nature of the Anti-Slavery Reform. They will be sneered at in this country, and in their own, too, as sentimental philanthropists, who send their sympathy across the Atlantic to the American negro, while their own poor are starving at their doors. But their philanthropy is of a broader vision, and takes in the causes and connections of the evil and wrong with which the earth is filled. It is not because they are deaf to the cries of their own perishing countrymen, that they extend a hand of friendly help to the American slave, but because they perceive that where labor is outraged the most, and the laborer made a beast of burden because he is a laborer,

*there* is the place for them to begin to work for the elevation of labor at home. The English artisan and the Irish peasant, though lifted above the slave as high as the heaven is above the earth, still feel the weight of his chains helping to keep them in their depression. The emancipation of the one must precede the elevation of the other. Labor must be respected before it can be restored to all its rights; and it can never be respected as it should be, as long as chains and stripes are its badge in any portion of the civilized world.

We cordially welcome this new coadjutor to the work it has addressed itself unto. We appreciate the generosity of feeling and the breadth of view which have led to its establishment. We can only promise, on the behalf of the American abolitionists, that we will do our best to deserve the confidence and coöperation of those on the other side of the Atlantic, by a strenuous continuance in our own agitation.

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society held its Twelfth Annual Meeting in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the 12th of May. It was addressed by the President, Mr. GARRISON, Mr. C. C. BURLEIGH, Mr. PILLSBURY and Mrs. FOSTER. The large Hall was entirely filled and the speeches were of a high order of excellence. The business meetings were held in the Lecture Room of the National Academy and were well attended by Abolitionists from various and distant parts of the country. The greatest portion of the sessions was employed in the consideration of an eloquent and well-reasoned "Appeal to the friends of Justice, Humanity, Peace and Liberty in the United States," on the subject of the Mexican war then just begun. This Address, written by Mr. GARRISON, took the ground that it was the duty of all those to whom it was addressed, to refuse to have anything to do with a war waged by Slavery upon a nation whose chief crime was that she had abolished Slavery. After ample discussion, and full consideration of all possible consequences, the Appeal was adopted. The Society reaffirmed all its testimonies of former years as to the pro-slavery character



of the Third Political Party and of the Colonization Society, bore its testimony against the pro-slavery Church and State, expressed its sense of the value of the services of our American friends in Great Britain and their zealous coadjutors, and its opinions on various matters of National and Local politics connected with Slavery. It was a meeting of great interest, and one that gave a decided impulse to the Anti-Slavery operations of the year.

#### THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

This Annual Assembly of the Abolitionists, not of New England only, but of the whole nation, was convened in Faneuil Hall on Tuesday, the 26th of May. Perhaps we never held a more stirring and exciting meeting. The Mexican war was but just begun, and on the very day of our Convention Governor BRIGGS issued his proclamation for volunteers. The public mind was in a high state of excitement, and the stern denunciations and rebukes of the State and its Chief Magistrate, for their inconsistencies and crimes, which the Convention administered, drew a very general attention to it. Our sessions were thronged from the beginning to the end, and though not undisturbed, their testimonies were fully heard.

On the second day of the Convention, the meeting was held in the Melodeon, at which time the resolution of Mr. PHILLIPS touching Governor BRIGGS and his proclamation, of which we have spoken at large in another place, was offered. It created a strong feeling in the community, and was the topic of general animadversion. In the evening the building was crowded to its utmost capacity, and the relations of the Church to Slavery were the topic of discussion. Although the great mass of the audience were peaceable and desirous to hear, a small party of rioters prevented anything that was said in the early part of the evening from being heard. But two of them being taken into custody by the police, the riot ceased at once, and the meeting ended in the most brilliant manner.

On Thursday, the meeting was again held in Faneuil Hall and it was again crowded with eager listeners. The resolution

concerning Mr. BRIGGS having been published in the morning papers, with comments, the general excitement in the popular mind was greatly increased. In the afternoon the concourse was immense, and a series of resolutions, offered by the Rev. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, denying the existence of any lawful government of the United States, of any Union, of any obligation of allegiance or countenance, to either, and pledging ourselves to give no aid or support to the Mexican war, and to do all in our power, to form a New Union and a New Constitution. These resolutions were sustained, amid mingled cheers and hisses, by Mr. CHANNING, Rev. THEODORE PARKER, Mr. REMOND and others, and enthusiastically adopted.

While this meeting was in progress, notice was given to the officers of the meeting, that the Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings, Mr. Alderman JONATHAN PRESTON, availing himself of the least conceivable informality in the manner in which the Hall was granted to us, had directed the Superintendent not to allow it to be used by us for an evening session. No other place could be procured at such short notice, and so an assembly of many thousands, some of whom had come thousands of miles to attend it, had the door shut in their faces, after it had been regularly granted, because a certain notice had been given to the *Superintendent* instead of to the *Committee*! A statement of the facts was published immediately in the daily papers, signed by Messrs. JACKSON, GARRISON, QUINCY and PHILLIPS, which concluded thus :

“ Whether it was the promptings of a base pro-slavery spirit, or a cowardly truckling before the imaginary possibility of a contingent mob, which impelled Mr. Alderman PRESTON to take this extraordinary and reprehensible course, is a question which it is important only to himself to decide. We would simply ask our fellow-citizens to consider whether he would have dared thus to insult *any* political party, or *any other* philanthropic movement? ”

This treatment, however, was perhaps as favorable to the agitation of the questions which had caused it, as the meeting could have been, had we been permitted to hold it, and we adjourned after a long session, with the satisfaction of knowing that we had not labored in vain. And we presume all went up

from it stronger of heart and more cheerful of spirit for the communion they had had together, and the evidences they discerned that the cause was never in a more hopeful condition.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

At its last annual meeting, this society made provision for a lecturing campaign to continue until the New England Convention. Accordingly, as soon as arrangements could be made it was begun and carried on with vigor for the appointed time, under the direction of our faithful and industrious General Agent, Mr. MOODY. Mr. PILLSBURY, the Rev. THOMAS T. STONE, then of Maine, Mr. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH and Mr. GILES B. STEBBINS were regularly in the field. Mr. REMOND also lectured extensively, though not in connection with the general movement. Dr. HUDSON and Mr. LUNSFORD LANE were also actively employed in the Western Counties, during the winter and spring, by our faithful friend ABNER BELCHER, as the trustee of the Anti-Slavery bounty of the late excellent PHILANDER WARE. Mr. GARRISON, Mr. PHILLIPS, and Mr. QUINCY assisted at some of the principal Conventions. A very large amount of Anti-Slavery work was done and well done, and the fruit of it was seen in part, in the success of the New England Convention.

Early in the autumn Mr. PILLSBURY returned from a short visit of Anti-Slavery duty to the West, and has been since that time acting as an agent of this Society with his usual efficiency and success. At a later period Mr. and Mrs. FOSTER have also returned from the Western field and have been laboring with their characteristic energy in our vineyard. Captain WALKER, also, has lectured extensively, though on his own account, and has helped to swell the general amount of Anti-Slavery agitation. The County Meetings have been even unusually interesting and well attended. Considering our limited supplies of men and money, we think we may say that the war was never carried on before, in any year, with greater spirit.

## DEATHS.

On the fifteenth of April the Anti-Slavery cause lost one of its earliest and firmest friends by the death of DANIEL NEALL, of Philadelphia. Having been born and bred in a Slave State, he early learned to abhor Slavery, and to devote himself to its destruction. He was not ashamed to be numbered among the despised and rejected modern abolitionists. He possessed great coolness and personal intrepidity, which he evinced on the fearful night of the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall, in an eminent degree, and also when he has been exposed to personal violence in a Slave State on account of his testimonies against Slavery. Few men had won the respect of the community in which he lived by force of character, clearness of judgment, unimpeachable integrity, and extensive benevolence, so entirely as he. The poor of the city where he lived will long have reason to regret their loss, and the poorest of the poor, though they may know it not, have lost a clear-sighted and earnest advocate and friend.

We have ourselves suffered a painful breach in our own Anti-Slavery circle, by the death of the venerable HENRY CHAPMAN, the father of the late HENRY G. CHAPMAN, who died on the 23d of November, at the age of seventy-five years. It was his rare felicity to retain the freshness of a youthful spirit in the midst of the infirmities and bereavements of old age. Though an old man he kept pace with the vanguard of his time. His prime of life was spent in the cares and toils of an uncommonly extensive and various business, and his talent and industry had crowned them with success. But neither the cares of this world, nor the deceitfulness of riches, could choke the good seed in his heart from springing up unto the harvest of a beneficent life. He was early and consistent in his testimony in the cause of Temperance. His ear was among the first that caught the distant wail of the Slave, and his hand was one of the foremost that was stretched out to succor him. The fortitude with which he sustained bereavements of no common severity, was admirable. The calmness with which he went down to his own rest was beautiful and full of consolation. His manners were

marked by all the gentleness and grace of the old school. They had, as WILLIAM PENN says of those of GEORGE FOX, "a grace beyond the rules of breeding;" for they were the out-shadowings of a benevolent heart,—the reality of which conventional good-breeding is but the imitation. During a long life, they that knew him best, had never seen his serene equanimity disturbed. Though he had encountered at least his share of the vicissitudes and calamities of life, yet he lived and died in peace. He was one whom to know was a privilege, and to remember is a blessing.

#### NORTHERN PRISONERS AT THE SOUTH.

The number of victims to Slaveholding vengeance and security, for whom our sympathy has been demanded in past years, has been diminished since we last reported their situation. The Rev. CHARLES T. TORREY was released by death from his imprisonment on the 9th of May. Even after the hand of death was upon him he was refused the small boon of dying among his kindred, although it had been solicited by many of the most distinguished of the citizens of Massachusetts, among them two ex-governors of the State, and although their request was marked by a servility of concession and a meanness of assentation such as was thought best adapted to conciliate Slaveholding arrogance, but which only excited its contempt. He, accordingly, died in the Penitentiary in Baltimore, another witness to the truth that common humanity and Slavery cannot exist together.

Mr. TORREY's remains were removed to Boston for interment, and his funeral services were performed in the Tremont Temple on Monday the 19th of May, in the presence of a large concourse of spectators. Application had been made for the use of Park Street Church for this purpose, and it was granted by the proper authority, but subsequently, almost at the last moment, the permission was revoked. This insult could have had no other origin than an unwillingness to seem to countenance the act which was the first cause of Mr. TORREY's death, and so this representative of the American Church spurned

from its doors the dead body of a brother in full communion with themselves, a minister of their own denomination, as if it had been a loathsome carrion, because he came to his death for attempting to rescue the victims of their Slaveholding brethren in Christ! And this, notwithstanding all that he had done to regain the favor his early Anti-Slavery course had forfeited! A pregnant commentary upon the character of American Religion! And an instructive lesson to all who are tempted to endeavor, at the instance of a Pro-Slavery Church, to recover her smiles by the sacrifice of principle and of duty!

Earlier in the year, Mr. BURR, one of the Missouri prisoners, was discharged by pardon. A favor which was not extended to him until he had maimed himself in the service of the State, and had become a source of expense instead of profit. Mr. THOMPSON is now the only one of these captives that is wearing out his best years in bondage to expiate his suspected attempt to open the prison-doors of the Slave. We earnestly hope that we shall soon hear the good news of his deliverance.

The case of the citizens of Ohio who were kidnapped on their own soil, by the inhabitants of Parkersburgh, and carried into Virginia to be tried for assisting fugitive slaves to escape, has been at last determined; the highest Virginian Court, to which it was carried in the last appeal, having decided, after solemn argument, that the Ohio side of the river is not within the jurisdiction of Virginia!

#### THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

This festival of Emancipation was celebrated with all due rites of joy and gratitude in various parts of the State. At Abington, at Concord and at Lynn, especially, very large open-air meetings were held, to which the people came up in multitudes from the country round-about. The weather was uncommonly propitious, and the day was one of temperate rejoicing, not unmixed with the remembrance of those in our own land, whose jubilee is yet to come.

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS.

We are happy to report the condition of the Anti-Slavery newspapers to be in a more flourishing condition than ever before. With the exception of the *HERALD OF FREEDOM*, our papers remain as they were at our last Report; but their circulation has been greatly increased. The *HERALD*, which had been continued for a year and a half after the felonious attack upon its life, in the winter of 1845, in the face of a profligate and factious opposition, was discontinued last summer, to the great regret of its readers and friends. It had been conducted with great ability by Mr. PILLSBURY in the midst of very unpleasant and painful circumstances, and published by Mr. ELA at an expense of risk and personal inconvenience highly honorable to his Anti-Slavery fidelity. The best part of its subscribers, however, transferred themselves to the *Liberator* or the *Standard*, so that we trust that the loss the cause has sustained by its discontinuance will be, in some measure, made good.

The *LIBERATOR* still retains its place as the acknowledged Pioneer of our Reform, not only when it first took up its march, but at every stage of its progress. It never stood higher in the affection and confidence of Abolitionists in the Old World, as well as in the New, than it does at the present moment. All the assaults that have been made upon it by open Pro-Slavery or by Pseudo-Abolitionism from the day of its establishment to this, have only had the effect of giving it a firmer hold upon the general Anti-Slavery heart of the World.

The financial Committee, to which Mr. GARRISON has entrusted the money concerns of the paper, have determined, after serious consideration, to try the experiment of reducing its price to *two dollars*, per annum, in the hopes that the expectations, which have been held out to them that the circulation would thus be much enlarged, will be realized. The revenue of the *Liberator*, which is managed with the most rigid economy consistent with justice, by Mr. PHILBRICK on behalf of the Committee (the services of all of whom, we need hardly say, are entirely gratuitous,) has been usually sufficient to support the paper and the editor. But it must be obvious that

several hundred new subscribers must be obtained in order to make good the deficiency which the reduction of price will occasion. We know that this can be done by a very moderate exertion on the part of its friends. Our agents have been instructed to make the obtaining of subscribers for the *Liberator* and *Standard*, a prominent part of their business, and they have been diligent and successful in this duty.

A change has also been made in the terms of the *NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD*, they being reduced to the sum of *one dollar*, in the faith, which has been well redeemed, that its increased circulation would make amends for the difference in price. It being the only object of our Anti-Slavery prints to do Anti-Slavery work and not to make money, if the receipts do but cover the actual expenditures, we consider ourselves amply repaid. The American Committee, thinking that the State of New York should furnish the staple of the subscription list of their paper published in its capital, set on foot, last summer, a campaign for that express purpose, under the direction of JOSEPH C. HATHAWAY, as General Agent. In this work he has had the invaluable help of CHARLES L. REMOND, ERASMUS D. HUDSON, WILLIAM W. BROWN, and GILES B. STEBBINS, besides other occasional assistance. This movement has been amply repaid by the success that has attended it. A great number of subscribers, also, have been obtained by the private solicitation of Abolitionists in various parts of the country.

The *STANDARD* is still conducted by Mr. GAY with the tact and talent which has characterized his editorial labors from the beginning. He has sustained his arduous duties as fiscal and office agent, in addition to those of his editorship, in the most satisfactory manner. The amount of labor which he does for the cause's sake, is inferior to none performed, now, or at any former time. During the past year he had had the assistance of several of the best minds in the cause, or in the country, as contributors to his columns. The *STANDARD* well deserves, by its merits, any amount of success it can achieve.

THE *PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN* is still in the hands of Mr. McKIM and is still as faithful and zealous as ever. It has re-



cently been enlarged and we trust that its circulation will be equal to its merits.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE has established itself firmly as the exponent of the principles of Anti-Slavery, as held by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the West. Mr. and Mrs. JONES are still its editors, and fully maintain the character for talent and fidelity which they impressed upon it in the beginning. The West has been again the scene of an extensive agitation, under the direction of SAMUEL BROOKE. We have no room for the particulars of its progress or its success, even were this the proper place to record them. We can only say that they were in the highest degree gratifying and encouraging.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

These Anti-Slavery instrumentalities have been more successful, both in their direct and indirect effects, than in any former year. Never was the preparation for the Fairs of any former year, made the occasion of so general and lively an interest in the cause; never was so large an amount contributed to the Slave's treasury, through this channel, since it was first employed.

Their usual history was varied this year by a novel experiment. On the Fourth of July an Anti-Slavery Fair was held by the Managers of the Boston Bazaar, at Dedham, in Harrison Grove, for the especial benefit of the Agency Fund of this Society. Its success was most complete. The magnificence of the grove, the exquisite beauty of the day, the throngs from the city and the country, the elegant arrangement of the tables, the eloquence and the music, made it a scene and an occasion to be long remembered. Addresses were made by Messrs. WM. H. CHANNING, JAMES F. CLARKE, GARRISON, RALPH WALDO EMERSON and WENDELL PHILLIPS. The pecuniary result considerably exceeded the sum which the Managers had pledged the Fair to raise, and in every respect its success was complete and triumphant.

The Thirteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar was again held in Faneuil Hall during the Christmas and New Year's

holidays. It was the most brilliant and beautiful ever held in that Hall. The beauty of the decorations, the abundance and richness of the articles, the crowds of purchasers, made it a most animated and picturesque spectacle. The Anti-Slavery zeal of two worlds was there displayed in the endless variety of things rich and rare contributed, as if in generous emulation, by the elegant industry of the women of England and America. The result of the sales was a sum exceeding FOUR THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED dollars, — being an advance of about ONE THOUSAND dollars on that of last year!

Addresses were delivered on some of the evenings of the Bazaar by REV. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, JAMES F. CLARKE, MRS. FOSTER, MR. GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ADDISON DAVIS, MR. PILLSBURY, MR. FOSTER, EDMUND QUINCY and others; which were listened to with interest by large and increasing audiences. The labor incidental to such an undertaking is very great, but its undertakers seemed to think themselves amply repaid by their triumphant success.

Fairs have also been held for the benefit of this Society at Upton, Weymouth, and we believe other places, and in all with most satisfactory results.

#### KIDNAPPING AT THE NORTH.

A strong and deep excitement was aroused in the mind of the better part of the community, in September last, by a case of kidnapping which occurred in the harbor of Boston. A Slave had secreted himself on board the brig Ottoman, at New Orleans, and was not discovered till she was at sea. The Captain, JAMES W. HANNUM, alarmed for his trade, kept him in custody on board the ship, and afterwards on Spectacle Island, for the purpose of returning him to New Orleans. The Slave once made his escape and reached South Boston; but was overtaken by HANNUM, who recovered possession of him, by representing him as a thief. He then put him on board the Niagara, a vessel bound for New Orleans, and sent him back to Slavery.

As soon as it was known that there was such a Slave in our waters, a writ of Habeas Corpus was granted by Judge Hub-

**BARD** of the Supreme Court, and a warrant issued for the arrest of **HANNUM**, on the charge of kidnapping. But through "the masterly inactivity" of the Deputy Sheriff to whom the writ, and of the police to whom the warrant, was entrusted, neither the one nor the other could be served! **HANNUM**, in a letter, through the daily papers, justified his act and stated that he was supported in what he had done by his owners, the responsible one of whom is one **JOHN H. PEARSON** of Long Wharf.

But though it was too late to save the Slave it was not too late for Boston to express its sense of this outrage on the laws of Humanity, of Massachusetts and of God. Accordingly a public meeting was called, to meet in Faneuil Hall, on the 17th of September, to utter its voice in this behalf. The Hall was crowded to its remotest nook and cranny. Never did such "a sea of upturned faces" fill that vast hall before. **JOHN QUINCY ADAMS** took the chair, amid deafening acclamations, and expressed his happiness in thus bearing his personal testimony in a case of personal liberty. **Dr. S. G. HOWE** stated the case, the **Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS** spoke the indignation of a merchant zealous for the honor of his profession, **CHARLES SUMNER, Esq., WENDELL PHILLIPS, GEORGE B. EMERSON, Esq., Hon. CHAS. F. ADAMS, Rev. THEODORE PARKER** and **Rev. THOS. T. STONE** filled up the rest of the evening. The enthusiasm was immense, and was never greater than when **WENDELL PHILLIPS** pointed out to the meeting its inconsistency in sustaining a Constitution of Government, by virtue of which a scrap of paper with the name of the owner of the Slave affixed to it, in **HANNUM's** or **PEARSON's** possession, would have made the act they were condemning a perfectly legal one, and when he indicated **DISSOLUTION** as the only rightful and sufficient remedy for these evils. If a vote could have been taken at that moment on the question of **DISUNION**, we are convinced that it would have been carried by acclamation.

Resolutions, branding **PEARSON** with the ignominy he deserved, expressing a determination that no more illegal seizures should be made, and appointing a Vigilance Committee of Forty to see to it that there were not, were passed unanimously, and

the meeting adjourned, after having afforded a signal proof of the change in the public sentiment since the Anti-Slavery movement, which has caused it, first begun.

The miserable PEARSON and HANNUM, each of them attempted defences of themselves through the papers, which only showed their conduct to have been more infamous, and their principles more abandoned, than had been at first supposed. We need scarcely add that no bill was found by the Grand Jury against these wretches. Public sentiment is not yet purified enough to have reached the Temple of Justice. These criminals, and especially the employer, the greater of the two, — will only have to endure the infamy of having sent back a man as free and as good as themselves to be whipped to death, for preferring liberty to slavery, which will adhere to them through life and be transmitted, a heritage of shame, to their children's children.

A case similar in its nature to this, but more fortunate in its termination, occurred not long before in New York. Fortunately, there, possession of the Slave, GEORGE KIRK, was obtained, before the kidnapping Captain had an opportunity to complete his purpose. This case excited a very strong interest in New York, and we are happy to say that the general sympathy was on the side of humanity. Although the Mayor and all the police of the city were at the disposal of the kidnapper, when the poor boy once escaped from custody, yet the Judge, EDMONDS, did himself and the Bench honor by judging justly, and deciding that there was no authority by which the Slave could be lawfully restrained of his liberty. He was accordingly set at liberty, and was soon put out of the reach of danger. Great credit is due to Mr. GAY and to Mr. ELIAS SMITH for their unwearied and judicious efforts in this matter; and to the counsel employed, Messrs. WHITE and JOHN JAY, for the untiring and able manner in which they did their duty to their client.

#### THE CASTE SCHOOLS.

The same question, of the disposition of which, last year, we gave an account in our last Report, was raised again in the

Boston School Committee, by a petition for the abolition of the Colored Schools, and disposed of in the same way. This year, however, the Committee were guilty of the indiscretion of giving their reasons for their refusing the prayer of the petitioners, and the City Solicitor was unwise enough to commit himself in a written opinion on the same side. The arguments, if such they may be called, of the first were disposed of in the admirably well reasoned and capitally well written Minority Report, signed by Mr. EDMUND JACKSON and Dr. BOWDITCH, and written by the former gentleman. This Report the Majority of the Committee refused to have printed with their own. This course showed their discretion, if not their magnanimity, as a different line of conduct would have been nothing less than suicidal. The opinion of Mr. P. W. CHANDLER, the City Solicitor, was reviewed by Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS at length and with great legal acumen and clearness of statement.

The Report of Mr. JACKSON and the Review of Mr. PHILLIPS were published together, and extensively circulated and read. The vote stood this year 59 to 16; last year, it was 55 to 12, for and against the continuance of the Caste Schools. We trust that this demand will be made of every successive School Committee, until they shall be found willing to do justice, if not for our cause, at least for our importunity. The prejudice of color can never be eradicated from the general mind, as long as it is permitted to poison the mind of our youth at its very springs. It will be a great triumph over this great obstacle in the way of the elevation of the people of color, and, of course, in the way of emancipation, when Boston shall yield to the demand of justice and right reason, and practically recognize the equal rights of instruction, without let or impediment, of all her children.

#### THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

Nothing has occurred during the past year, to alter the relations of the three political parties towards Slavery, and towards Anti-Slavery. They are all alike engaged in a strife for office,

under the Constitution of the United States. They are all equally ready to swear to support that Constitution; and, if true to their oath, to do the work which the Constitution, as explained by its authentic expounders, requires of those supporting it. Though they all claim to be hostile to human slavery and desirous of universal liberty, their position contradicts their pretensions. As long as they occupy that position, they are essentially pro-slavery in their essence and tendency. Whether they accept the Constitution as it is, or attempt to see in it something that is not there, the Great Fact of its actual character and meaning remains the same. It is still the heaviest of the chains that bind the Slave to his despair, the iron of which enters into our own souls who have consented to hold it.

Such being the common relation of the three parties to Slavery, their common relation must necessarily be one of hostility to genuine Anti-Slavery. True Anti-Slavery is, of its own nature, the antagonist of whatever sustains Slavery; parties clinging to one of the main supports of Slavery, must of an equal necessity, be the antagonists of Anti-Slavery. This we find daily to be true of the three parties in their collective capacity. The individuals composing them we find of every degree of relation to us, from the most malignant hatred to the warmest friendship and good will. Though most of the prominent leaders, and of the official organs, of the three parties are equally bitter against us and our movement, still we are happy to know that there are multitudes within the ranks of all of them that are cordially friendly to us, and desirous of coöperating with us as far as their political relations will admit. We are far from claiming to be the only ones in the country that earnestly desire the abolition of Slavery and are honestly laboring to promote it. But we are confident that ours is the only way of salvation. We believe that there are many in the Third Party and many more in the Whig and Democratic Parties who are sincere haters of Slavery, and are honestly convinced that their party organization is the true one for its final destruction; but, while we believe all these to be equally honest in their purpose, we are sure that they are all equally mistaken in

their method. Our testimony is, therefore, upheld equally against all.

There is nothing in our organization or platform that forbids abolitionists of either of the parties from acting with us, to the extent that their sense of duty, and feeling of good faith towards their parties, will permit. We have such helpers in them all, and they always find us ready to coöperate with them, where concert is possible. Where we have reason to believe them disinterested abolitionists, men of private integrity and personal honor, (or where we have not reason to know that they are the reverse of all this) we joyfully accept whatever of service they are endeavoring to do for the Slave, as an earnest of their sincerity, whether it be in concert with us, or not. But it is always under protest, well understood, whether tacit or expressed, that our approbation is qualified by disapproval of their policy, and that our heart's desire is that they should learn to walk in the more excellent way which leads "right onward" to the point we are all wishing to attain.

#### THE CHURCH.

As the relations of the Parties have remained substantially the same, as of old time, to Slavery, and to Anti-Slavery, so have those of the Church. The great national Sects, by their ecclesiastical action, or inaction, and by the utterance of their Rabbies and of their periodical organs, continue to give to Slavery the blessings and the consolations of Religion. No practicable breach has, as yet, been made in the walls of "the Bulwark of American Slavery." They continue to enclose "the American Bastille" from the besieging hands of its enemies, as if it were the Holy of their Holies, and still endeavor to sanctify it in the eyes of the people, by planting the Cross of Christ upon its battlements. The sympathy of the great body of the Churches and Clergy is still with the Master and not with the Slave. The peace of the Church, and the prosperity of their own particular Zion, yet seem to them of greater moment than the redemption of three millions of human beings from Slavery. The pulpits and the religious press continue to display their

zeal for the abolition of Slavery, chiefly by the repetition of stale slanders against the Abolitionists, and by endeavors to prevent them from obtaining the ear of the people. With but few exceptions the churches of all sects are shut against the slave in the person of his advocate, while almost every one of them expands its doors to welcome the pious robber of the poor, and scarcely any but rejoice to have the bread of life broken unto them by reverend men-stealers, with their hands dripping with their brother's blood.

The wisdom of the action of the Southern Methodist Episcopal churches in dissolving the jurisdiction of the General Conference over the Southern and Southwestern Conferences and erecting them into a separate Ecclesiastical Connection, styled "the Methodist Episcopal Church South," has been justified by its results. The Southern Church has gained everything, and lost nothing. It has banished the importunate spirit of Abolitionism from its great Councils, and at the same time has lost none of its ecclesiastical brotherhood with the Northern Churches. The Baltimore Conference, which adheres to the "Church North," has thus defined its position:—

*"Resolved, That this Conference disclaims having any fellowship with abolitionism. On the contrary while it is determined to maintain its well-known position, by keeping the travelling preachers, composing its own body, free from Slavery, it is also determined not to hold connection with any ecclesiastical body that shall make NON-SLAVEHOLDING A CONDITION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE CHURCH!"*

This action of the Baltimore Conference was sanctioned by the Rhode Island Conference, held in April last. That body considered "the position assumed by the Baltimore Conference, in relation to Slavery, as exceedingly judicious, and the best for the Church and the Slave, possible, under its circumstances!" This resolution was seconded by the editor of "Zion's Herald," the organ of the Eastern Conferences. The editor of the "Christian Advocate," the leading paper of the Northern Church, gave it his hearty approbation, declaring, that though neither preachers nor members of the Church "had changed an iota of their hostility to Slavery, still *they have learned to discriminate between the voluntary and involuntary Slaveholder.*



*They no longer believe Slaveholding a sin under all circumstances. They are now aware that some of their brethren hold Slaves, under a conscientious conviction, that their maintaining the relation of master is enjoined providentially upon them, as the only means of saving their servants from evils more afflicting than Slavery itself!"*

Thus the Church North, as far as the action of their Conferences, and the words of these their authentic organs, can express its doctrine, not only disclaims Abolitionism, but declares its determination "to hold no connection with any ecclesiastical body that *shall make non-slaveholding a condition of membership!*" And the guilt of slaveholding is piously transferred from the shoulders of Hope Slaughter & Co. (the great Methodist Slave-traders) and their compeers, to those of the Almighty, which are supposed to be strong enough to bear it! And these are the Conferences with which the Church South could not remain in connection, on account of their *Abolitionism!* Well may the South despise the North, when, with all its pains, it cannot succeed in *kicking* a particle of manly spirit into it.

The New School Presbyterians, at their general Assembly in May last, disposed of this troublesome subject, substantially in the following manner, by the adoption, by a vote of 97 to 27, of a series of resolutions offered by Dr. DUFFIELD. The 1st., declares Slavery to be intrinsically unrighteous, opposed to the law of God, to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel; the 2nd., that the testimony of the Presbyterian Church has always condemned it; the 3rd., regrets its existence in the Church, and exhorts Members and Churches to put it away; the 4th., they cannot pronounce a sentence of general and promiscuous condemnation which should exclude Slaveholders from ecclesiastical and Christian fellowship; but they rather sympathize with them in their embarrassments, &c.; the 5th., condemns all divisive and schismatical measures, and deprecates the spirit of denunciation, on this subject; the 6th., denies any right in the General Assembly to institute tests of Christian character, and refers the matter to the Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, &c. Paltry and equivocating as this action was, no less than three Protests were recorded against it, as too Anti-Slavery!

The Methodist Protestants at their General Conference, held at Cincinnati last May, were also troubled by the impertinent obtrusion of Anti-Slavery. The exclusion of Slaveholders from the Church, and the striking out of the word "white" where it occurs in the Constitution of the Church were demanded. A Report, strongly Anti-Slavery, created an excited debate of two days. It was first amended by inserting the words "*if practicable*," where emancipation was demanded, and finally laid on the table by a vote of THIRTY-FIVE to THIRTY-ONE. So Slavery was victorious there.

It is gratifying after these examples of pious profligacy on the part of sects which, in an eminent manner, thank God that they are not as other men are, to have action of a different character to relate on the part of another great and growing religious Connection. In the course of the last summer a Protest was issued, signed by THREE HUNDRED AND THREE Universalist Ministers, clearly reciting the incidents of Slavery which called for an expression of opinion, eloquently summing them up, and declaring that "for these reasons, we protest against the system of American Slavery as utterly wrong, and confess our obligation to use all justifiable means to promote its abolition." We trust that the implied pledge in the Protest will be redeemed, and that we shall see a marked impulse given to our cause by the practical operation of the spirit that informed it.

Early in the year an "ADDRESS OF THE IRISH UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY TO THEIR BRETHREN IN AMERICA," was given to the Public. It was a singularly faithful and able document, containing, in the most courteous language, the keenest rebuke for the fidelity to their "mission of silence," which the Unitarians had displayed on the subject of Slavery in past and present times. It expressed the satisfaction of the Irish Brethren at the "Protest against Slavery," of which we spoke in our last Report, and their hope that they would not be satisfied with a declaration of sentiments on this matter, but let every man concerned in Slavery feel that he was indeed "committing the greatest possible robbery and the greatest possible wrong." This Address was prepared in consequence of a resolution offered by our tried

friend, JAMES HAUGHTON, expressive of pleasure at the answer returned to the Address of the Unitarian Clergy of Great Britain and Ireland, by the American brethren, but at the same time of regret that no answer had been returned to an Address of their own forwarded two years previously, and of a consequent determination to send another on the same subject this year. The plainness of speech and directness of expostulation and rebuke of the former Address, if we may judge by the animadversions of the Christian Register (the Unitarian organ) upon this, were doubtless the reason of the expressive silence of which the Resolution and Address complains. Whether any action has been taken upon it, by the American Unitarians, or any of them, we have not heard.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have distinguished themselves, during the past year, by carrying out the principles of their toleration of Slaveholding, in a manner highly creditable to their intrepidity and consistency. Having decided formerly that the question of the admission of Slaveholders to the Mission Churches should be remitted to the missionaries for decision, they carried out the same principle in relation to a far less criminal class of offenders against fundamental morality. It having been ascertained that the neophytes at some of the Mission Stations were indulged by their spiritual fathers in the luxury of a plurality of wives, some "troublesome," "meddlesome," "snarlish" "enemies of the Board," (as they were characterized at the meeting) sent up a memorial suggesting action relative to this slight impropriety. The subject was referred to a Committee of which no less a personage than Chancellor WALWORTH, of New York, was chairman, which reported that it was inexpedient for the Board to take action in the premises, but to leave the question to be settled by the missionaries themselves! This report created a long debate, in the course of which, the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, the head of New Haven theology, said with great *naïveté*, that "*we*," that is the polygamy party of the Board, "*have as good a right to ask the Board to say that polygamy, in extreme cases, is right, as they have to ask the Board to say that it is wrong!*" And the illustrious head of the Law in the Empire State, he who sits in the

seat of Livingston and of Kent, suggested that in *case of the opening of Turkey to the Gospel, where polygamy is common, the case might arise.* IN HIS STATE POLYGAMY WAS FELONY,—THERE IT IS LAWFUL! *We could not decide it,—the circumstances of the case must decide it!*"

This Report was at last adopted without a single dissenting voice, so that the Board has now "defined its position" anew, and decided that provided a sin be only sufficiently prevalent to have become a recognized institution, it ceases to be a sin and is no longer any bar to the gates of Heaven, or to the privileges of the communion-table! This may certainly be called Christianity Made Easy, and Morality Adapted to the Level of the Meanest Capacity! We would, however, suggest to this august Representative of American Piety and the American Character, whether an impartial recognition of all the Deadly Sins, in one general resolution, would not greatly simplify and facilitate the Conversion of the World.

We need scarcely say, at this period of our existence, that we have no quarrel with the American Church, as a Collection of Sects, or with any of the Sects of which it is made up, as to their rightful existence, as to their controverted doctrines, or their conflicting disciplines. We take the Church in the aggregate, and each of its parts in detail, at its own account of itself, and ask of each and all to apply the same machinery of rebuke and of discipline to Slavery—"the sum of all villanies,"—that they do to any of the single sins of which it is composed. We came to the Church, in the beginning, accepting it as what it professed to be, a divinely established institution for the removal of all sin, and asked it to help us in the removal of this aggregate of all sins. And it has only been where we have found her the ally, instead of the enemy, of Slavery, that we have denounced—not the Church of Christ, but—the Church of America, as being, in the emphatic language of Dr. Channing, "a synagogue of Satan!" We have never denied, as Abolitionists, that the true Church was the "light of the world," and "the salt of the earth." We have only affirmed of a self-styled Church which gave its sanctions, its support and its countenance to Slavery, that it was a light which was utter darkness,

and salt that had lost its savor, fit only to be trampled under foot of men. This is the head and front of our infidelity, — of our Anti-Church and Anti-Ministry agitation! If this be infidelity, we glory in the name of infidels! We shall rejoice with exceeding joy, if the American Church shall ever know the things that pertain to her peace, in this regard, and employ its yet mighty, though shaken, power for the deliverance of the Nation of American Heathen, for whose misery, degradation, ignorance and vice, it is, in the sight of God and of good men, the guiltiest agent. Should it ever, as a body, or in any of its parts, be willing to purify itself of its heresy against humanity, and to exert itself for the promotion of practical righteousness in the land, they will ever find us most heartily ready to welcome, and to assist its regenerated action.

We cannot conclude this portion of our Report without commending to the Society the tract which Mr. PILLSBURY has just prepared, entitled "THE CHURCH AS IT IS, OR, THE FORLORN HOPE OF SLAVERY." He brings down the pro-slavery history of the Church to the present time, from the point where it was left by Mr. FOSTER's "Brotherhood of Thieves." We trust that it will receive, what it deserves, the widest circulation.

#### OUR SPIRIT.

The bad spirit of the Abolitionists has always been a main ground of complaint against them. It has, from the beginning, been made the excuse of the cowardly and the timeserving, for not joining our ranks, or doing their duty out of them. It is a charge which we are very willing, for we can well afford it, to let take care of itself. As long as we cannot be accused of indifference to the wrongs of the Slave and of slothfulness in his behalf, as long as it is admitted that our testimony against Slavery and Pro-Slavery is loud and emphatic, as long as it is not pretended that we are influenced by any personal interest or selfish passion, we are content that men should say what they like of our spirit, so that they cannot well deny our works.

Our intolerance has ever been a grievous affliction to the church and to the world. We are intolerant to the Christian

Slaveholder, to the pious but pro-slavery minister and church-member, to the statesmanlike politician, to the abolitionists who do not see eye to eye with us, in all matters of discipline and doctrine. All these things grieve, and have always grieved, the righteous souls of the multitudes whose business it is to watch over our spiritual welfare, and to prove their zeal for the Slave, by "picking holes in the coats" of his friends. To all this affliction of our neighbors we have submitted with the resignation of martyrs. Knowing, ourselves, what spirit we were of, we possessed our souls in patience, believing that our spirit would in due time be justified of our works.

To some of these charges, however, we are not ashamed to plead guilty. We are, and ever have been, intolerant towards Slavery, for it is a thing intolerable and not to be endured; and by Slavery we mean Slaveholders, without whom we humbly conceive that Slavery would be a very harmless abstraction. Still less endurable do we find those saintly men who simoniacally try to sell the gift of the Holy Ghost to men-thieves, for less than nothing; and who hold that a man may make merchandise, or do to death, the Image of God and the brother of Christ, and yet be

"A sad good Christian at his heart!"

Nor is our charity sufficient to cover up the sins of the illustrious Statesmen, who are vying with each other in the servility of their obeisance to Slavery, and jostling one another in their eagerness to see which shall first put his foot on the neck of the Slave, that he may vault into the Chair of State.

But that we have ever rejected the proffered hand of any honest Abolitionist, however distinct his plan of action may be from ours, is almost too absurd a charge to be denied. God knows we have wanted enough of help not to accept it, come from whatsoever quarter it may. Our whole history shows how eager we have always been to extract Anti-Slavery good from everything that promised to yield it; and the most serious calamities the cause has ever encountered has been from the over-trusting confidence of Abolitionists in unworthy and dishonest pretenders to Anti-Slavery grace. Our platform is wide open

for all who choose to come upon it; but of those who come, it is for us to say whom we can trust. And if men who have once robbed and slandered us, who have done what they could to cripple the Anti-Slavery enterprise and to make Abolitionists infamous by calumnious falsehoods circulated with all the industry and all the art of malice, whether in the former or the latter days, or men who have aided, abetted or comforted them in their wickedness, when such men come to us and ask us for our confidence or countenance, they must pardon us if we ask them first to show us that they deserve it by proofs of repentance and regeneration.

And when such men complain that we will not act with them *because we differ from them in opinion* as to the best way of conducting the cause, they *know* that it is not their *opinions* but their *characters*, not their *creeds* but their *conduct*, not their *thoughts* but their *lives*, that keeps us asunder. Their want is not a want of theoretical agreement with us, but of a sound morality, of a regard for truth, of fidelity to sacred trusts, of pecuniary honesty, of personal honor. And this separation exists not by our act but theirs, for our platform is as open to them as to ourselves, if they can endure the testimonies they would have to hear proclaimed from it. This may be a bad spirit, but it has answered our purpose very well thus far, for want of a better. This may be intolerance, but it looks to us very much like common sense.

#### OUR PHILOSOPHY.

The Anti-Slavery Idea, as it now exists in the minds of the American Abolitionists, has gradually evolved itself from the facts of a long and difficult experience. When we first accepted it as our guide in the great work we had undertaken, we had but an imperfect revelation of its form and stature and we dreamed not whither it would lead us. But, as we honestly followed whithersoever it led us, nothing heeding the consequences, it gradually developed and displayed itself in the perfect shape that now accompanies and animates us. It has conducted us up to heights upon which we had never expected

to stand, and has unrolled prospects before our eyes, which we had never expected to see. But it has made our path plain and straight before us, and has shown us that it is the only one that can lead us to our End.

Our Philosophy is not one hard to understand, though it may be difficult to receive. It is simply the philosophy of personal separation from an evil which we wish to destroy. Of removing our upholding hands from the tottering ruin which we wish to fall. It teaches us that the first qualification for an Abolitionist is freedom from all voluntary connection with Slavery. That he should be like Cæsar's wife, "*omni suspicione major*," above the least suspicion of the guilt of supporting it. Under the guidance of this philosophy we have examined the institutions, ecclesiastical and civil, in the midst of which we live, and where we have found the sanctity or the security of Slavery an essential part of them, for whose comfort and protection the blessings of the one and the bayonets of the other are pledged, we discerned that our first duty was to come out from them, and to refuse to participate in their guilt, as an essential requisite, not merely to our own innocence, but to their reformation. We perceived that the Constitution of the United States, for example, was so framed and contrived as to make Slavery a permanent institution, as long as the Slaveowners chose to continue it, at the same time, giving them the highest of human inducements to do so, by investing them with the political control of the nation, in virtue of their ownership in human flesh.

Seeing, as we did, in the Constitution of the United States, the Supreme Law of the Land, we could not help perceiving that it had a fixed and determinate meaning, ascertained by the usual rules of the interpretation of written laws, and by the decisions of the tribunal which it had itself constituted its authentic Expounder. That it was not a dogma of belief which might receive such gloss as the caprice or the conscience of each individual, in his right of private judgment, might be pleased to give to it; but an imperative "rule of civil action," to be obeyed according to its judicially ascertained meaning, by all acknowledging its rightful sway, and accepting its political



privileges. Such being the binding force of the Constitution, which had forbidden the suppression of the Slave-trade for twenty years, and did not enjoin it then ; which made Slavery a National institution, by making the right of the master to the slave, sacred from State legislation ; which placed the sceptre of republican absolutism in the hands of the Slavemasters, by clothing them with three-fifths of the political power, rightfully belonging to their slaves ; and which pledged the physical force of the whole nation for the protection of Slavery against a righteous Servile Revolution ; in the presence of such a Constitution, we plainly saw that there was no alternative for men who revered the obligation of promises and the sanctity of oaths, on the one hand, and who hated Slavery and loved Liberty, on the other, but OBEEDIENCE or REVOLUTION. We have made our election. We have renounced our allegiance to a Government, which we could not support without sustaining Slavery ; and, believing the existing Constitution and the present Union of these States, to be incompatible with the Abolition of Slavery, we have devoted ourselves to the Abrogation of the one and to the Dissolution of the other, in order that they may be replaced by a purer Constitution and a more perfect Union, which shall indeed " establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

#### OUR METHOD.

Our Method is identical with our Philosophy. The one is the other reduced to practice. It is the Life of our Doctrine. It consists in a perpetual testimony, as emphatic and extensive as we can employ, against the guilty participation of the American People in the crime of Slavery ; in the demonstration of the truth that it can never be abolished, as long as the Union under the Constitution makes it the condition of the political supremacy of the Slaveholders ; in the exhibition of the horrors of Slavery which that Constitution and Union have frightfully extended and multiplied, and of the annihilation of all the rights of the inhabitants of the Free States, if they come in the least

collision with it; in appeals to the reason, consciences, hearts and interest of the non-slaveholders, to make them feel how delusive is the Union to which they cling,—how impotent for good, how omnipotent for evil,—that they may rise in their strength and break the chain which binds themselves to their degradation, and the Slave to his despair. It consists, in short, in the use of every means in our power to make this Constitution and this Union of which it is the bond, infamous and abhorred in the eyes of this people, and of the nations of the world, because of the base, mean and cowardly element, which, as must needs be in all compromises of good with evil, has consumed all that it pretends to have of virtue or freedom; that so it may vanish, before the might of a purified public sentiment, and give way to a Republic, which shall be indeed the Model, instead of the Warning, of the world.

We are well aware that we are weak as the world esteems strength, and few as the parties count numbers. We know how inadequate our philosophy and our method seems, in the common eye, to our end. But we know, too, that it was the same philosophy and the same method, which, in other countries and in other times, have overthrown mightiest monarchies, unseated historic dynasties, made altar and throne come to the ground, changed fundamental constitutions of government, which seemed as enduring as the firm-set earth, moulded them afresh and breathed into them a new vitality. Forms of Government, of whatsoever name, are but the projections of ideas existing in the minds of the people that submit to them. Change but the ideas and the symbolic sign is changed, as the shadow shifts with the varying shape of the substance that projects it. The most absolute despot on earth enjoys his sway only by virtue of the opinions of his subjects. It is therefore that a new idea is the most fearful of portents to tyrants everywhere,

“ ————— with fear of change  
Perplexing monarchs ! ”

Trace the history of the greatest modern revolutions and it will be found to be but the development of an idea at first despised and rejected, but gradually drawing minds into itself, until it

governs men and controls events with more than regal sway. It seemed a weak and ridiculous folly to the courtiers of Elizabeth, and perhaps to Cecil and Walsingham, themselves, when clergymen renounced their cures, and with their followers submitted to poverty, persecution, torture, imprisonment and exile, that they might be faithful to the test of that age, in which was wrapped up the germs of civil and religious liberty. But in less than a century triumphant Puritanism had trampled crown and mitre in the dust, and seated the Brewer of Huntingdon upon the throne of the Stuarts. And in less than a generation after, the same spirit, victorious over the apparent reaction of the Restoration, banished the last of its ancient kings forever, and gave to England a limited and constitutional monarchy. The convocation of the States General did not create, it only developed, the new ideas which informed the French Revolution with the might which not only toppled down the dynasty of the Capets, but shook every throne in Europe. It was from the closets of the philosophers and encyclopedists that they were originally sent forth conquering and to conquer. Our own Revolution dates, not from Lexington, or from the passage of the Stamp Act, but from the days of the Emigration, and from the yet remoter time of early Puritanism, when those ideas were born, which, nurtured by the hardships of their exile, confirmed by their controversies with the colonial government, at last grew up to the stature and to the strength of Independence.

Fortified by the lessons of history, and instructed by our own experience, we shall continue to do what we may to change the character of that despotic thought, that sovereign will, of which all our present institutions are but the outward manifestations. Slavery exists and rules the destinies of the American People, because they love to have it so. It seems to them to be a state of things which is for their advantage, and their heart is hardened to the cry of the poor. It is our business to give them no peace in their wickedness, to set their sins forever in order before them, to demonstrate to them the folly of their crimes. When the necessary Revolution in the mind of the People is completed, that in the institutions of the country will follow, as the day the night.

How soon this change will come to pass, we cannot foresee. We know that Revolutions, though they never go backwards, yet move slowly in their small beginnings. But we have learned to wait. Having dedicated the best of our days to the promotion of this reformation, we are willing to devote the remainder to its service. Every great achievement is the accumulated result of the labors of single days. To seize each day as it hurries past us, and extort from it its appointed work and crowning blessing, is our duty and our reward. Nor can we define the precise shape which the changing mood of the general mind will take, when it is ready to embody itself in deeds. We see, already, the effect of our agitation in the altered tone of feeling and of speech, as to the sacredness of the Constitution and the Union. We have disenchanted the mind of the people, in a good measure, as to the divinity of their parchment idol. We have taught men to calculate the value of the Union. The idea that loyalty and allegiance are its due is fast becoming ridiculous and contemptible. It is beginning to be looked upon as a matter of business, a partnership in trade; and multitudes who walk not with us, have been taught by their own experience, to curse the Constitution and the Union as a delusion and a snare. It is because it is a delusion and a snare that we war with it. We have no quarrel with the Constitution, because it is the basis of a confederated Union of States; but only because we see in it an alliance offensive and defensive between those States for the perpetuation of Slavery, and, consequently, the greatest of obstacles to its abolition, as long as its obligations are in force. It is not the Constitution, nor the Union, any more than it is the Church, that Abolitionists desire to destroy; but only the National Crime which has made them its citadel and its sanctuary.

But though we cannot foresee the exact time, nor the precise way, in which American Slavery will be abolished, we know that its doom is sealed, for we believe that God is just. All the signs of the times, even those which are hailed as most auspicious to its life, are ominous of its destruction. It is only a question of time and of instruments. The Abolition of Slavery we recognize as the great task assigned to this generation, in

this country. We accept it as our appointed work, and are grateful that we are permitted to assist in the evolution of this magnificent event. We can discern nothing in the questions that divide the parties and the sects that approaches, in enduring interest and in grandeur of results, to this great problem of human condition. It is the only event, of our contemporary history, whose influences will reach to the remotest generations, and will be a source of daily gratitude to countless millions, until the end of time. Let us be duly sensible of the dignity and of the responsibility of the duty, however humble, that we have undertaken in this great work. Never was a nobler task assigned to man. One that is more blessed in its effects upon those engaging in it, or upon those whose deliverance from degradation and despair, is its object. The scorn of the world, the anathema of the church, the sacrifice of the vulgar objects of ambition, may be well endured for the promotion of a cause, in the issues of which are involved the deliverance of the Slave, the redemption of the country, and the progress of the race.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

### *Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from January 1, 1846, to January 1, 1847.*

By Balance transferred from last year's account, .....	\$296 66
" Cash received of Francis Jackson, from proceeds of Massachusetts Annual Fair, .....	3,962 11
" " " of B. Marsh, for office rent, .....	173 75
" " " from proceeds of Rural Fair, at Dedham, .....	447 94
" " " from Collections made at Annual Meeting, .....	299 92
" " " from Donations and Collections of societies and individuals, as published monthly in the Liberator, .....	1,371 23
Total, .....	\$5,852 01

### *The Disbursements during the same period have been as follows :*

Paid, per order of the Board, from proceeds of the Fair, for advertising in the Liberator, for ten years, .....	\$200 00
" Loring Moody, for his services and expenses as General Agent for twelve mo., ..	609 27
" Per order of the Board, to the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Soc., ..	2,800 00
" For printing sundry Petitions, Pledges and Bills, .....	17 50
" For expenses of Faneuil Hall, .....	27 00
" For the use of Tremont Temple, for Annual Meeting, .....	112 00
" For Paper, and Printing 500 copies of Annual Report, .....	67 29
" For Office rent, at No. 25 Cornhill, .....	347 50
" Parker Pillsbury, for his services as Agent, .....	133 67
" C. L. Remond, for his services as Agent, .....	54 50
" Thomas T. Stone, for his services as Agent, .....	179 81
" Discount on uncurrent bill, .....	25
" G. B. Stebbins, for his services as Agent, .....	75 65
" Charles C. Bustelgh, for his services as Agent, .....	135 04
" Dr. Hudson, for his services as Agent, .....	108 00
" Posting Bills and Advertising, .....	7 15
" William White's expenses to Princeton, .....	5 00
" Wm. L. Garrison's expenses to New Bedford, .....	3 00
" Sundry bills of expenses of Dedham Rural Fair, omitted by the Committee, ...	10 28
Total, .....	\$5,002 91
Leaving a balance in the Treasury on 1st of January, 1847, of .....	\$849 10

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

### AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.

Boston, Jan. 17, 1847.—I have examined the above account, and find the same correctly cast and properly vouched; the balance in hands of the Treasurer being eight hundred forty-nine dollars and ten cents.

EDMUND JACKSON.

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

### VICE PRESIDENTS.

SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury,	HARRIS COWDREY, Acton,
ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,
NATHANIEL B. BORDEN, Fall River,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge,	THEODORE P. LOCKE, Westminster,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	CAROLINE WESTON, New Bedford,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	ZENAS RHOADES, North Marlboro',
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	BENJAMIN SNOW, Fitchburg,
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Uxbridge,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	CYRUS PIERCE, Newton,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	THOMAS T. STONE, Salem,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Boston,	BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth.
SAMUEL MAY, Leicester,	

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

### TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

### AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

### COUNSELLORS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE WARREN WESTON,
HENRY INGERSOLL BOWDITCH,	CHARLES LENOX REMOND,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,	JOHN M. SPEAR,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,	JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

## APPENDIX.

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### FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in Faneuil Hall, on Wednesday, Jan. 27, 1847, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. The meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Everett, of Princeton, a Business Committee of seven was appointed by the President. The following persons were chosen:—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. H. CHANNING, ABBY K. FOSTER, ADIN BALLOU, MARIA W. CHAPMAN, and JAMES N. BUFFUM.

On motion of Mr. Quincy, the following persons were appointed by the President to report a list of Officers of the Society for the ensuing year:—EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL MAY, JR., DANIEL RICKETSON, DR. FARNSWORTH, LORING MOODY, JOHN M. FISKE, and JOHN T. HILTON.

On motion of J. M. Spear, the following persons were appointed by the President a Committee on Roll and Finance:—LORING MOODY, and CORNELIUS BRANSHALL.

On motion of E. Quincy, the President appointed DANIEL RICKETSON and ELIZA J. KENNEY, Secretaries of the Meeting.

On motion of D. Ricketson, the Report of the Secretary of the Society, Mr. E. QUINCY, was taken up and read, and listened to with much attention.

Mr. Mellen then made a few remarks, in dissent from that portion of the Report which implicated the Constitution of the United States, in the support of Slavery, and moved that such part of the Report should be stricken out; but his motion being out of order, no action was taken upon it.

Stephen S. Foster then moved, that all persons who should be present at the meetings be invited to participate in the discussions—and addressed the meeting at some length.

The following resolutions, prepared by Wendell Phillips, were then read to the meeting by Edmund Quincy:

*Resolved*, That, recognizing in GEORGE N. BRIGGS, either a narrow-minded or a willing tool of a corrupt faction, we can only regard as



enemies to the Slave and to Human Freedom, the party which, with loud and useless, because disbelieved, Anti-Slavery professions on their lips, have again, at this crisis, elevated to office this man, not only utterly unequal to the place and the occasion, but perjured by his own showing, and a traitor to his own principles.

*Resolved*, That in this so called war with Mexico, we can see nothing but a foray of pirates and kidnappers, and that the nation, which wages it, should be considered the enemy of the human race, and deserves the deep curse of every lover of right and of human liberty.

*Resolved*, That the fact that the Grand Jury of Suffolk County, at two successive sessions, refused to find a bill of indictment against either John H. Pearson or James W. Hannum, for the infamous outrage of kidnapping a colored man in our streets, — a crime of which they were both shameless enough publicly to boast, — is melancholy proof of the disastrous influence of both the pulpit and the press on the public mind, and conclusive and sufficient evidence of all the charges we have ever brought against our countrymen, either in Church or State.

*Resolved*, That we hail, with sincere thankfulness, the continued evidence of the deep and abiding influence of our distinguished friend, WM. LLOYD GARRISON's late visit to England, rejoicing that he was permitted to take once more by the hand, our beloved pioneer, THOMAS CLARKSON, and to hear from his own lips, the assurance of his deep interest in, and cordial approbation of, our pledged purpose, to seek for the Dissolution of this Union, as the readiest and most effectual method of striking off the fetters of the Slave.

#### WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

James N. Buffum in the chair. The resolutions offered this morning, by Mr. Quincy, were again read by the Secretary, and placed before the meeting for discussion.

Remarks from Stephen S. Foster and Lunsford Lane.

The following resolution was then offered by Edmund Quincy: —

*Resolved*, That we cordially approve the action of the Board of Managers of this Society, in instituting a movement for the purpose of asking the Legislature of this State, to call a Convention of the People to take measures for a peaceable secession from the Union; and that we pledge ourselves to do our utmost to make that demand loud and imperative, and to continue to repeat it, until it shall be heard *and obeyed*.

Loring Moody, of the Committee on Roll and Finance, then stated to the meeting, that the Committee would call upon them to contribute to defray the expenses of the meetings.

Remarks from Hon. Seth Sprague of Duxbury, Addison Davis, Loring Moody, James N. Buffum, Edwin Thompson, and Thomas Willis of Canada.

## EVENING SESSION.

Francis Jackson in the chair. The resolution offered by Mr. Quincy, this afternoon, was read by the Secretary, and discussed by Dr. Grandin of Boston, and Addison Davis of Lynn.

The following resolutions were then offered by Mr. Garrison, and advocated by him at some length :

*Resolved*, That of all classes in this country, to whom the three millions of our enslaved and chattelized countrymen have a right confidently to look for sympathy, aid, and complete deliverance from their horrible servitude, THE WORKING-MEN of the North constitute that class ; and so long as they stand aloof from the Anti-Slavery enterprise, they will not only be guilty of manufacturing yokes for the necks, and fetters for the limbs, of the Southern Slave population, but will fail in all their efforts to remove those burdens and monopolies, under which they themselves are groaning.

*Resolved*, That we rejoice to know, that the working-men of the Old World, burdened and crushed as they are, are deeply interested in the anti-slavery movement of this country,—regarding its success as of paramount importance, and seeing in the existence of Slavery in this boasted Republic, the mightiest obstacle to their own deliverance from oppression and bondage.

The discussion of the above resolutions was continued by Messrs. Buffum, Parkman, Innis, Trask, and Clure, and the meeting adjourned to meet at the Melodeon, on Thursday morning, at 10 1-2 o'clock.

## THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.

Meeting called to order at 10 1-2 o'clock by Francis Jackson, at the Melodeon.

The Treasurer being absent, the Chairman read his Annual Report.

On motion of Hon. Seth Sprague, of Duxbury, the report was accepted.

The Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Jan. 1, 1846, to Jan 1, 1847, were \$5,852,01; Disbursements, \$5,002,91. Leaving in the Treasury the sum of \$849,10.

Remarks from Stephen S. Foster, Wendell Phillips, and J. T. Everett of Princeton.

The following resolution was then offered by Wendell Phillips :—

*Resolved*, That this Society cannot view with approbation, the proposal of some devoted friends of the slave, to test the number and stimulate the zeal of the friends of Disunion, by urging them to repair, as do others, to the ballot-box, and deposite their votes for such men as will never take the oath to support the Constitution of the U. States ; considering the experiment as too hazardous—the line to be drawn between

those who vote generally, and those who vote for such a purpose, too delicate for general observation — and liable to render less distinct, emphatic and intelligible, our protest against the Government of the United States.

The attention of the meeting was called to the Anti-Slavery League, formed by our friends in Great Britain, by Loring Moody, and James N. Buffum.

On motion of Stephen S. Foster, the resolution before the meeting, offered by Mr. Phillips, was read by the Secretary and followed by remarks from Mr. Foster, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Orvis.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, a committee was appointed by the chair, to collect funds to defray the expenses of the agents for the ensuing year. The following gentlemen were selected by the chairman to form such committee, and accepted by the meeting:—

Loring Moody, Charles F. Hovey, James N. Buffum, Joshua T. Everett, Addison Davis.

Remarks from S. S. Foster, John Orvis, Josiah Hayward, Edwin Thompson, G. W. Stacy, W. Jenkins, Mellen, and S. May.

The following resolution was then offered by Wendell Phillips:

*Whereas*, It is unequal, that those who come up to our annual meeting should bear the burden of the various contributions to the cause;

*Resolved*, That we urge earnestly on the abolitionists of each town of the Commonwealth to assemble immediately, and raise, or take measures for raising, as large a sum as possible, and remit the same to the Treasurer of the Society, for the purposes of the cause; and we charge it on the conscience of each individual to see that this plan is adopted in his own town.

On motion of S. S. Foster, the resolution of Mr. Phillips, in relation to abstaining from the ballot-box, was called up, and discussed by Messrs. Foster, Davis and Phillips. Adjourned to half past 2, P. M.

#### THURSDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Francis Jackson in the chair. The discussion continued upon the resolution under consideration at the time of adjournment, by Dr. Grandin, Loring Moody, Parker Pillsbury, Wm. A. White, John A. Innis, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Adjourned.

#### THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

Francis Jackson in the chair. The resolution under consideration at the close of the afternoon session, was read by the Secretary, and taken up for consideration. Remarks from Samuel Adams of Boston, Wm. L. Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Stephen S. Foster, and Parker Pillsbury.

Adjourned to meet in Faneuil Hall, to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

## FRIDAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Society assembled at Faneuil Hall at 10 o'clock,— Francis Jackson in the chair. The meeting opened with an anti-slavery song from the friends of the cause.

Mr. Garrison moved that we adjourn, finally, this afternoon ; which was adopted by the meeting. S. S. Foster moved that the hour of 12 M., be assigned for the purpose of obtaining subscribers to the anti-slavery papers.

On motion of J. N. Buffum, the Finance Committee were instructed to adopt some method for procuring funds for the ensuing year.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Garrison, as a substitute for the one before the meeting on the same subject :

*Whereas*, This country is now engaged in an aggressive war upon Mexico, having for its express object the conquest of a large portion of that republic, in order to annex it to the United States, that the accursed system of slavery may thereby be extended and perpetuated ; and,

*Whereas*, This is the consequence of the perfidious and unconstitutional annexation of Texas to this country, and, aside from its horrible purpose, was commenced in violation of even the forms of constitutional law ; therefore,

*Resolved*, That all who participate in this war, or who give it any countenance, are the enemies of the country, and traitors to liberty and the rights of man ; that no request or order of the Executive for aid in its prosecution, either by voting supplies, or enlisting in the military service, ought to be complied with by Congress or the people ; that the American troops, now occupying Mexican soil, ought instantly to be withdrawn, and full reparation made to Mexico for all the outrages and sufferings that have been ruthlessly inflicted upon her by this guilty nation.

This resolution was advocated by Jonathan Walker, Rev. Thomas T. Stone of Salem, and Parker Pillsbury, and adopted.

The hour of 12 having arrived, the motion of Mr. Foster, to take measures for obtaining subscribers for the anti-slavery papers, was taken up, and advocated by S. S. and A. K. Foster.

A number of new subscribers were obtained for the Liberator.

On motion of E. Quincy, the vote passed, that we adjourn at the close of the afternoon session, was reconsidered, after spirited remarks from Garrison, Phillips, Foster, Buffum, Channing, and Taylor.

Mr. Garrison moved, that the Society instruct the Board of Managers never to pay any bill that may be presented to the Society, for damages done to Faneuil Hall, while holding our meetings. The question being called for, the vote was taken, and the motion for reconsideration nega-

tived — 31 to 30. It was then moved by E. Quincy, that, under the circumstances, we remain in session till the business of the meeting be concluded.

The resolution of Mr. Garrison, in relation to the Mexican war, being before the meeting, was discussed by John A. Innis, of Salem, who, though repeatedly called to order, factiously continued to take up the time of the meeting with his rambling and abusive remarks.

Mr. Quincy, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported a list of officers, for the ensuing year, which was unanimously accepted.

The Committee on Finance, to whom was reported the subject of a plan for raising funds for the support of agents of this society during the current year, submitted the following Report :

That, in order to secure a greater amount of co-operation and efficiency, the Abolitionists of every town in the State be urged forthwith to call a meeting of the friends of the Slave, in their respective towns, and make choice of one of the most active and energetic of their number, to act as a financial agent in each town, the present year, whose duty will be to thoroughly canvass the town, and collect as large an amount of money as possible, for the Agency Fund, to be forwarded, from time to time, to the Treasurer of this Society. That the several Town Committees be requested to keep up a frequent correspondence with the Board of Managers at Boston, for the purpose of keeping them informed of their success, and seeking such advice and encouragement as they may need. Also, that the Board of Managers of this Society appoint one or more of the most tried and faithful friends of the cause, in each county of the State, where it may be thought expedient, to co-operate with the several Town Committees, to urge them to a faithful discharge of their duty to the Slave, in this particular; and, also, by frequent correspondence, to keep the Board of Managers informed of their movements and success.

The following resolutions were then offered by Mr. Garrison, and adopted by the Society :

*Whereas*, Since the last annual meeting of this Society, the venerable and world-honored CLARKSON has been called from his earthly conflict with the enemies of a deeply wronged and imbruted race, to the society and companionship of prophets, apostles, martyrs and saints, in "another and a better world,"—therefore,

*Resolved*, That we desire to unite with the friends of freedom and humanity, universally, in bestowing a fervent benediction upon the memory of that great and good man, and in holding up his example as worthy of all honor and imitation; that we deeply sympathize with his family, in view of their great bereavement; and that, by his loss, we

hope to derive a fresh stimulus in prosecuting the noble cause to which he devoted his long and valuable life.

*Resolved*, That in the death of EDWARD S. ABBY, of England, the anti-slavery cause throughout the world has lost one of its most clear-sighted and uncompromising friends, one of its most out-spoken and unfaltering advocates; one who deserves to be remembered with special honor and applause by American Abolitionists, as among the very few English tourists and sojourners in this country, who, while on our soil, have had the moral courage to avow themselves the friends of the fettered slave, and of his persecuted advocates, and to express their abhorrence of slaveholders and all their abettors.

*Resolved*, That the slave has lost a firm and devoted friend—our cause, an earnest and self-sacrificing supporter—and the cause of all progress, an enlightened friend—in the death of our lamented coadjutor, HENRY CHAPMAN, of Boston. May youth, in the vigor of its life, equal his age, in readiness to welcome the new idea, and devotedness in reducing it to practice!

*Resolved*, That among the cheering events which have transpired during the past year, we hail the formation of the Anti-Slavery League in London, at the head of which is our eloquent and honored coadjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, as among the most auspicious to our cause; and we call upon all the friends of freedom in this country to enrol their names as members of the League, and thus assist in the promotion of its sublime and beneficent purpose,—the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

Wendell Phillips offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

*Resolved*, That this Society hails, with cordial delight, the eminently successful labors of our friends Wright, Douglass and Buffum, in Great Britain, in behalf of the slave—rejoicing that the last has returned, at length, to cheer us with his presence, and to give us his efficient and devoted aid at home—commending the others to the confidence and co-operation of the friends of humanity abroad—and rendering to all the deep thanks of the slave.

*Resolved*, That we rejoice in the abundant evidence, which every day affords us, of the successful and triumphant progress of the friends of the American Society at the West, glad that so extensive and important a post is garrisoned by so watchful and faithful a band:—we are cheered by this brightening of the bonds which bind the anti-slavery host together, and by the proof, that though political power is leaving the East, though the sceptre is departing from Judah, we may rest satisfied that hearts, equally faithful, are watching the ark of the slave's safety, and will see to it that his cause receives no harm in the valley of the Mississippi.

*Resolved*, That we pledge, for New England, to Ohio, not only our hearty sympathy, but our most efficient aid and support, in covering with anti-slavery machinery the vast field she has in charge.

*Resolved*, That the unparalleled success of the "Bugle" gives us fresh confidence in the anti-slavery zeal of our Western friends, and proves them keenly alive, not only to the general interests of the cause, but to the specific measures which can alone insure its continued progress and final triumph.

The following resolutions were offered by Daniel Ricketson, of New Bedford, and adopted:—

*Resolved*, That while we recognize the justness of the English journals, in their severe rebukes of the people of the United States, in relation to the war, now waging by this Government against Mexico; as remonstrants from the first movement in this wicked invasion, we plead *not guilty* to the charge brought against this nation, and heartily sympathize in the spirit of indignation, which the position of our country is calculated to inspire in every humane and high-minded person of this and other lands.

*Resolved*, That the accusation is false, as heard from pro-slavery lips, that the philanthropists of Great Britain, heedless of the suffering poor in their own land, are wasting their sympathy upon the American slave; but, on the contrary, they are the foremost and most untiring in their efforts and sacrifices for the amelioration of human suffering at home.

The following preamble and resolution were submitted by Mr. Garrison, and adopted:—

*Whereas*, This Society, having been apprised, during its sessions, of the conditions on which the occupancy of this hall was granted by the city authorities—namely, that those who engaged the hall must be held responsible for the payment of any constabulary force that may be in attendance, whether requested to be present or otherwise, and also of any damage that may be done to the hall by mobocratic violence—conditions which are manifestly unreasonable and unjust, which virtually deny all legal protection to citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights, and which are a direct invitation to the mob to gratify any vindictive feelings which they may wish to indulge—therefore,

*Resolved*, That, in order to indicate its unwillingness to countenance the tyrannous act of the city authorities of Boston, in regard to the use of this hall, this Society decline occupying it during the remainder of the time for which it has been granted.

The Society then adjourned.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

DANIEL RICKETSON, }  
ELIZA J. KENNEY, } *Secretaries*.

SIXTEENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

**Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,**

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 26, 1848.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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BOSTON:  
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1848, April 10.  
List of  
Rev. Martin Moore,  
of Boston.

# REPORT.

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For the sixteenth time the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, as the servants of the Abolitionists and of the Slaves, present themselves before their constituents to give an account of the general aspects of the Cause, as well as of their own labors in its behalf, during the year which is just elapsed. While we justly regard the office with which you have invested us, as the depositaries of your Anti-Slavery confidence, of which this is a portion of the duties, the most highly honorable and the most truly responsible that we could hold in this country, we are deeply aware of the disproportion of the means placed in our hands for the accomplishment of the results at which we aim; and we are, yearly, more and more oppressed with the sense of the difficulty of compressing within the moderate limits at our command the multitudinous topics which throng upon our memories, when we cast a glance at the procession of events which make up the last year's history. Every year does the task which you have imposed upon us, of pursuing the tracks of Slavery in the Church and in the State, and of pointing out the effects of its open crimes and of its hidden iniquities, become more and more difficult. And this, not from the poverty, but from the abundance, of our materials. Slavery, which from the beginning of our national history, has been the controlling and governing principle of our political and ecclesiastical affairs, in proportion as its disguises have been stripped from it, has become only the more desperate in

its audacity, the more ravenous in its greed, the more insolent in its despotism. It has been ever Omnipotent and Omnipresent; but every succeeding year multiplies the manifestations of its presence and its power. It is with but a small portion of this vast subject that we can pretend to grapple on this occasion.

#### THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

The last year has been full of events. The prophecies of the Abolitionists, derided, as they have always been when uttered, as fantastic and visionary, are in a course of rapid fulfilment. It is but three or four years ago that our assertions as to the designs of the South upon Texas, and our predictions of her certain success, were treated as the fanatic dreams of hot-headed enthusiasts. But Texas has been for more than two years a recognized member of our sisterhood of States. We, then, announced the purpose of our Slaveholding Administration to create a war with Mexico. The annunciation was scouted as absurd and impossible. But it is nearly two years since its accomplishment began. And when we further indicated, that not merely the partition, but the acquisition, of Mexico herself was the ultimate purpose of the Dominant Power, it was received as an extravagant ebullition of disappointment and passion. And yet this proposition is gravely maintained by presses in various parts of the country, among others by the *National Era*, the metropolitan organ of the late Third Political Party, and has been embodied in the form of Resolutions offered for the action of Congress. So rapid, indeed, is the progress of events under the control of the Slave Power, since it has been relieved of all apprehensions of effectual Northern resistance to its designs, that Prophecy can scarcely keep its precedence of History, but events sweep past almost before their advent can be discerned.

Since we last appeared before you the bloody battle of Buena Vista has been fought; the city of Vera Cruz has been besieged and taken; General Scott has fought his way to the Capital of Mexico and is now in undisputed possession of it. The Mexican armies are, to all appearance, dispersed. The Mexican Republic, if not conquered, seems at least to have

exhausted her means of defence. We have gained by these triumphs an enormous public debt, a great loss of life, an immense increase of Executive patronage, and the prospect of a vast acquisition of territory suitable for the extension of Slavery. The purposes of the War were sufficiently indicated by the instructions given to Mr. Trist, the itinerant Commissioner, who accompanied General Scott, which forbade him from making any treaty which did not concede the province of New Mexico to the United States. It was upon the refusal of the Mexican Government to assent to this extortionate demand that broke off the negotiations, and was followed by the hostilities which terminated in the capture of the City. What terms will be finally extorted from the Mexican Government, when one can be found, in the present distracted state of that nation, to treat with, remains to be seen. But it is hardly to be supposed that they will be more favorable to the defeated party than those demanded before the victory was certain.

The armed occupation of Santa Fe and the Californias has been maintained, without serious resistance, during all this time; so that the United States are virtually in possession of the whole Mexican territory, out of which we are to choose the portions which will best make us amends for the trouble we have been at in helping ourselves to them. Mr. Trist, indeed, was willing to lend a favorable ear to the demands of the Mexican Commissioners so far as not to insist upon the cession of the Californias, they being unsuitable to the object for which the war was waged; and had the Mexicans been willing to yield the territory which Slavery coveted, peace might have been made on the easy terms of sacrificing the possible interests of the Free States in the fruits of the Conquest. But the negotiations being broken off upon this issue, the whole of Mexico, from sea to sea, lies at the mercy of our warriors and diplomatists. The game is a sufficiently obvious one. The North is to be quieted with the sop of the Californias, or as much of them as can be obtained without endangering the more important objects of the treaty, while the South seizes upon New Mexico to gorge the insatiate maw of Slavery. As the half of barren Oregon was granted to still the clamors of the Free States when the Slave States demanded all fertile

Texas in which to expand themselves, so the half or the whole of sterile California may be granted to the vassals as the price of silence and consent to the wealthier rapine of their lords.

In the meantime, this marauding incursion into the domains of our neighbor, whose only sin against us was that the "daily beauty of her life," as far as the treatment of her colored population is concerned, did "make us ugly," and that she had broad lands that we coveted for abominable uses, has excited no widespread and deep-felt abhorrence in the mind of this religious nation. Here and there a press, and now and then a pulpit, has spoken in fit terms of denunciation and indignant rebuke of this public wickedness. Demonstrations on the part of portions of the political parties have been made upon this point, which shall be noticed in another place. But few and faint have been the words of earnest remonstrance when compared with the shouts of triumph with which our infamous successes have been hailed by the one party, and the expressive silence in which the other has mused their praise. The guilty submission of the North to the Annexation of Texas is already producing the first fruits of the harvest of that craven sowing. The desperate South set its fate upon the hazard of that die. The North vaped and blustered and talked great swelling words of its resistance, even unto Disunion, to that political Revolution. The South saw that the permanence, indeed the existence, of the element by which it governed its white as well its black slaves, depended on the accomplishment of that Revolution, and it took the risk. It triumphed and set its heel more firmly than ever upon the neck of the servile and crouching North. Even the faint show of opposition which was made to that crime, was manliness and resolution itself compared with the feebleness of the resistance that is opposed to these instant and impending enormities. None of sufficient moment to avert, or to delay, the indefinite extension of Slave territory, is to be hoped for. The rallying moment was lost, the hosts of Slavery swept over us, and we have no reason to expect anything but the doom of the conquered. Our only hope lies in the very extravagances of the tyrant. There is a possibility, though a remote one, that the North may yet be spurned and scourged into a vindication of its rights. That Slaveholding

insolence may yet create a soul under the ribs of its moral death, and recall the spirit which has been fled almost since the Revolution. The excesses of the Slave Power, therefore, cannot be excessive; for they exist only by our crime, and continue but by our cowardice. If they do not point out to us our Remedy, they are at least our fitting Punishment.

## WILMOT PROVISIO.

In our last Report we gave an account of the Proviso to the Resolution appropriating two millions of dollars to be employed by the President in purchasing a peace with Mexico, moved by Mr. Wilmot of Pennsylvania, at the close of the first session of the last Congress, to the effect that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, shall ever exist in any part of any territory to be acquired from Mexico, except for crime;" and of the manner in which the action of the Senate was prevented, after it had passed the House, by Mr. Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, speaking against time, until the hour fixed for adjournment arrived. A proviso to the same effect was appended to a bill authorizing the President to use three millions of dollars for the same purpose, on motion of Mr. Preston King, of New York, and passed the House by a vote of 115 to 105. In the Senate, however, the proviso was struck out by a majority of *ten*, and, upon the resolution being returned to the House, the proviso was lost by a vote of 97 to 102, and it was then passed without the amendment by a vote of 115 to 82! So supple and subservient are the faithful Commons of this Republic to the authentic will of the House of Slaveholders! Since that time, this proviso has furnished the chief nucleus for the opposition to the war and its objects, to the more independent spirits of both parties. The outrage upon the Constitution committed in the Annexation of Texas, following at its due interval upon those of the Annexation of Louisiana and Florida, having been submitted to, the point seems to be granted, on all hands, that any quantity of territory may be united to these States, and all that is left to the Free States is to make a stand, of necessity an unavailing one, against the permission of Slavery in such new acquisitions.



This very shape which the political hostility to Slavery has found itself compelled to take, is one of the strongest testimonies to the supremacy of that Power over us. It has trampled under foot all Constitutional guarantees which stood in the way of its designs, while it enforces them upon us, in their strictest interpretation, to prevent our interference with those purposes. And having conceded the thing demanded, our Anti-Slavery Politicians would make amends for their folly by seeking to obtain the consent of the victor that it shall not be used for the purpose for which it was sought and won. A pregnant proof that there can be no effective resistance made to the encroachments of the Slave-power except by men who regard the Union as the great political bulwark of Slavery, and who are ready to level it with the dust as a necessary preliminary to the destruction of that enemy of mankind, and to the vindication of their own rights. We can but hope that the daily developments of our history may at last make the Anti-Slavery portions of all parties discern that there is no Exodus for them out of the slavish bondage in which they live as their brother's keepers, excepting over the ruins of the existing Union and Constitution.

The whole history of the United States, since it was gathered into a nation, has been a continual witness to the truth that there can be no genuine Union between Good and Evil, between Liberty and Slavery. There never has been a *Union* of these States. A *Coalition* there has been; and its fate has been that of every coalition which has been attempted to be made, between a good principle and a bad one, since the world began. The Bad has predominated over the Good. The victory has been, as it should have been, to the Evil Element of the attempted Compromise.

The only history, worthy the name, that we have in this country, is the narrative of the various devices of the North to escape the jaws of Slavery, without taking her head out of its mouth. Attempts, more or less vigorous, have been made, at various periods, to put the monster on short allowance, but they have always failed. And they must always fail as long as they are made in subordination to the agreement which gives Slavery the power to help itself. The resistance which was made to

the Purchase, and afterwards to the Admission, of Louisiana, the Missouri contest, and the Texas struggle, were conspicuous attempts of this nature. And splendid failures they were, all of them. The present phase of this spirit of resistance to the aggressions of Slavery is seen in what is called the Wilmot Proviso, which embodies the principle, that whatever Territory is acquired by the present war shall be Free Territory. A large part of the Whig, and a proportion of the Democratic, presses make a stand upon this ground. Resolutions to this effect passed the Legislature of Massachusetts, unanimously, and have also passed the Legislatures of various other Northern States, Democratic as well as Whig. But this effort will be as futile as any of its predecessors. After the vamping about the Annexation of Texas, and the smoke in which it ended, Slavery will be indeed a fool (and *that* it has never been in its generation) if it be deterred by these demonstrations from doing what it likes.

Hopes have been entertained that the Democratic Party at the North, would rally round this principle at the next Election for President, and put Silas Wright, as its incarnation, in the Chair of State. But this hope, faint as it should have been, has been dispelled by the sudden death of that Statesman; and all the other prominent Northern aspirants for the place, will be ready enough to repudiate it, for the sake of the only support which can give them a chance of a nomination, much more of an election. The South has taken its ground firmly and decidedly, and there is no doubt of its maintaining it successfully. Its vantage is too great for defeat. If it want the whole continent to Cape Horn, it can have it for all the resistance the North will make. The heart of the North must be renewed before it will be ready to make any effectual head against the irruptions of the Slave Power. And that will not be before the next Election. Of which circumstance the Democrats, at least, are well aware.

And how stands it with the Whigs? The undivided front which they seemed at one time to present, under this standard, is already broken. Southern Machiavelism has already made a crack, which, by due pains, may be widened into a split. The Hon. Mr. Berrien of Georgia, a pious Slaveholder, and one

of the officers of the Bible Society and of the A. B. C. F. M., if we are not much mistaken, has suggested the change of the issue from "No more Slave Territory," to "No more Territory."

Mr. Schouler, the editor of the Boston Atlas, who, before he was translated to a metropolitan See, gave some signs of Anti-Slavery vitality and sagacity, falls in with this suggestion, and is followed by a portion, not large as yet, of the Northern Whig Press. Mr. Berrien is, plainly, a knowing man. He is no unworthy pupil of the great Compromiser, Clay, to whom that same Atlas judged Boston would give as warm a welcome as she did to Lafayette! He takes a proposition that has a vital principle in it, and after squeezing its life out, offers its breathless corpse to his Whig brethren as a much more efficient leader than when it was alive! And he is taken at his word by a portion, which we prophesy will be an increasing portion, of the Whig Party. No more Territory! No more than what? Than to the Rio Grande, or the Nueces, or the City of Mexico? A Dissolving Frontier like ours knows no such thing as New Territory. All that we want was ours from the Creation of the World.

A little later Mr. Buchanan takes the Democrats in hand, and kindly helps them out of their quandary. "Northern Democrats are not to be expected to approve of Slavery in the abstract," it seems! This is a great, and rather a startling concession. But then, the Constitution, Compromises, Compacts, and all the rest of it, make it plain that they are expected to approve of all Slavery does in the concrete. Mr. Buchanan, of course, cannot be opposed to the acquisition of Territory, nor even of Slave Territory. But he is not in favor of nothing but Slave Territory. O, no! He is for applying the Missouri Compromise to whatever we help ourselves to, and excluding Slavery from all north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes! Or in plain terms, he would prohibit Slavery wherever it is physically impossible that it should exist! And the Northern Democrats jump joyfully to the same conclusion, and all their perplexities are at an end!

But it is all mere beating the air, even if the Whigs, or Democrats, or both, at the North, were of one mind as to the Wilmot Proviso. What could they do even to procure its adoption? Suppose Mr. Corwin, who seems the present Whig

representative of the Wilmot idea, to be elected President, what could he do, or they that chose him do? Could they say to Slavery, "Thus far shalt thou go, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"? There, in the Senate, will sit that iron majority of Slaveholders, who will mock at all their impotent struggles. The example of Mr. Berrien shows that the Whigs cannot depend on the Southern division of their party, in a case where the interests of Slavery are at stake. The Proviso can never become a law, and it will be distinctly intimated that no man that maintains it can expect confirmation for any office, at the hands of the Senate. The way of escape which Mr. Berrien has opened will be made as broad as the Way that leadeth to Destruction, and many there will be that will walk therein. The history of the Proviso, last winter, is an antetype of what is in store for it. Passed by a Democratic House, it was, as soon as the will of the Senate was expressed, crushed by the very men who had just voted for it.

We hope that the better part of the Whig Party, and of the Democratic Party, too, will do stout battle for the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, because we believe that if anything can show them the only effectual Deliverance, it will be the experience they are about to have. They will find that if they can succeed in tying this millstone about the neck of a Presidential Candidate, it will carry him to the bottom with a most "comfortable alacrity at sinking." They will find that there is not strength enough left to the people of the Free States, even if they were united, to a man, to resist the determined purpose of the Slave Power. They will learn the might of a compact, intelligent Oligarchy over incongruous masses, be they never so massive. They will discover that to attempt to destroy, or to limit, Slavery under the Constitution, is as vain and absurd as to fight in fetters. From all this experience, and more, we trust they will come to see that the only way to be free from the despotism of the Slaveholders, themselves, and to put themselves into a position to give effectual aid to the Slaves, is to DISSOLVE THE UNION!

It may look hard, but it is much easier than to carry the Wilmot Proviso. For the one can be done by the majority of the inhabitants of the Free States, or of a portion of them;

while the other cannot, though they were all united as one man. When the Anti-Slavery Whigs and Democrats will unite in demanding a Reconstruction of the Government; in proclaiming the Dissolution of the present Confederation, and the formation of a New Union that shall be such indeed; when they shall put forth their strength against, instead of under, the present Constitution; when they shall meet, not in partizan Conventions, but in Conventions to prepare the People for a Revolution, or to carry that Revolution into effect; then they will begin to exert some independent political influence, and to produce an effect on public affairs. They can then help to create a Republic in which the will of the People will be law, and not the caprice of a small aristocracy, their natural enemies, above their reach and beyond their control. A Republic, in which there may be such a thing as political success without personal dishonor; in which a career may be opened to men of honor and self-respect as well as to turn-coats and parasites. In short, a Commonwealth, the very opposite of everything that this spurious Republic is, and the realization of everything that it pretends to be.

#### CONGRESS.

The action on the Wilmot Proviso, in its new form, was all that we have time to notice of the proceedings of the last Congress, although the able speeches of Mr. Calhoun and of Mr. Corwin, as expositions of the Pro-Slavery and the Anti-Slavery points of view, in looking at the facts and the possibilities of Slave-Extension, might well demand a passing word. The speech of Mr. Corwin in particular, was a masterly effort, which placed him in conspicuous position before the country, akin to that which he occupies with his own State, and opened to him a way to public confidence and national distinction. It need not be said that whatever was demanded to carry on our free-booting campaigns in Mexico was readily, though not unanimously, dispensed by the guardians of the public purse.

The opening of the present Congress was marked by an extraordinary event in our Federal annals. For the fourth time, since Congress was, a Speaker has been chosen from New

England. There being a small Whig majority, this became an object of ambition to the aspirants of that party. For some reason the Southern Whigs consented to the nomination of a Northern man, only stipulating that his principles should bear the Southern brand. Though but a small minority of the party, still they might have had a candidate of their own section of country, had they held out to the compromising point. They were satisfied, however, with having one of their own selection; and, in choosing Mr. Winthrop, they elected one who had given them pledges of the truth of his allegiance. His toast given in the Cradle of Liberty, declaring that he would go for the "Union however bounded;" his vote for the War Bill, with its lying preamble; his unwillingness to have the Whig Party committed to the support of none but a consistent enemy of Slavery; his open defence of his public conduct in these respects, all pointed to him as one worthy of the confidence of our Southern Masters. But this delightful unanimity on the part of Southern and Northern Whigs was well-nigh brought to nothing by the contumacy of two members of the party. Thrice was the vote taken, and twice was it defeated by the votes of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, and of Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts. And Mr. Winthrop's election was finally only secured by the vote of Mr. Levin, of Pennsylvania, a "Native American" member, and by the withdrawal of Mr. Holmes, a Nullifying Unionist, from South Carolina.

This latter gentleman in a letter to the Charleston Mercury explaining his course, says plainly, "The Southern Whigs nominated Mr. Winthrop in caucus, *in opposition to a majority of the Northern Whigs*,—because he had been successful in defeating the *Wilmot Proviso* in the Massachusetts Whig Convention!" And he proceeds to acknowledge that Mr. Winthrop had "properly constituted the Committees," excluding Messrs. Palfrey, Giddings, and Tuck from the important ones!"

This act on the part of Mr. Giddings and Mr. Palfrey was in the highest degree honorable to them, inasmuch as it showed that they believed in obligations superior to those of party ties, and were ready to obey them, though at the cost of party denunciation. The excitement which was produced by this act of insubordination, particularly with regard to Mr. Palfrey, and

in his own State, was intense. This gentleman, who is honorably known to the abolitionists and to the country, by his manumission of his hereditary slaves, by his activity in the Anti-Texas campaign, and by his able papers on "The Slave Power," appeared in Congress for the first time, and this was his first act. It was bad in itself. It was worse as a prognostic of what might remain behind. The Pro-Slavery Whigs of his District, and of the neighboring metropolis, who had done their best to prevent his election, by refusing to support him, though the regular candidate, were full of wrath because he dared, in a case where he believed his own consistency and honor, and the best interests of his constituents to be concerned, to imitate their example. His conduct, however, has received the unqualified approval of those whose approbation he would esteem an honor, and we believe will meet with the sanction of his constituents, should he ever again appear at their tribunal. He has auspicated his political career by an act of manhood, singular in this time-serving generation, and we believe that his public conduct will be worthy of the augury that has marked its opening.

Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate, has developed the policy of the wiser sort of the Slaveholding Interest, in a resolution to the following effect: "That to conquer *Mexico*, and to hold it either as a province, or to incorporate it into the Union, would be inconsistent with the avowed object for which the war has been prosecuted; a departure from the settled policy of the government; in conflict with its character and genius; and, in the end, subversive of our FREE (!) and POPULAR (!) institutions."

But then he goes for taking "a defensive line that shall cover *ample territory for indemnity!*" And this is to be the compromise, probably, on which the North will at last agree with her masters. A compromise by which the South is to be secured in the present possession of all she wants, with the moral and political certainty of having all the rest for the asking!

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

The events affecting, or affected by, Slavery and Anti-Slavery in this State, though not perhaps so marked as in some

former years, are not unworthy of record. Her position is certainly not much changed for the better since the last year. She has again uttered her Resolves against Slavery and the War, and has again given nearly all her votes for Governor Briggs, who sent the Massachusetts volunteers to fight in the one the battles of the other, and for General Cushing who led them to the field, as the practical embodiment of her resolving spirit. Not long before the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Hayden, Chairman of the Special Committee on Slavery and the Mexican War in the House of Representatives, presented a series of resolutions against Slavery and Slave-extension, which were sufficiently general and tame to secure a unanimous passage. This action it was thought would satisfy the importunity of the Anti-Slavery demands at home, without dissatisfying the Pro-Slavery demands abroad. But the Committee was doomed to disappointment. Mr. Keyes, of Dedham, towards the end of the session, finding that this Committee, of which he was a member, was resolute not to take any decided ground against the Mexican War, moved that the House receive a certain document which he had prepared as a minority Report, and certain Resolutions appended to it, as the expression of the sense of the Legislature upon this subject, and the reasons for it. The House granted the leave, and ordered the papers to be printed.

Under this marked rebuke of the House, Mr. Hayden resigned his place upon the Committee. Mr. Giles, of Boston, who succeeded him, produced a majority report, of a character which might be expected from the duress under which it was extorted. When Mr. Giles's Report came up, in order, Mr. Keyes moved the substitution of his own as an amendment, and sustained his position with distinguished ability and eloquence. The motion prevailed by a large vote. The Resolutions gave rise to an extended debate in the Senate, and they underwent various amendments, which, however, finally left them very much as they were at first. The House refused once to agree to the amendments of the Senate, but the Senate adhering, and they not being material, the House, on motion of Mr. Keyes, concurred in the amendments, by a vote in which nearly every Whig in that body concurred. These resolutions, it will be noticed, were almost identical with those offered by



Mr. S. C. Phillips at the Whig Convention in Faneuil Hall, in the preceding September, and contemptuously rejected. The manner in which Mr. Keyes carried through his resolutions, in the teeth of the leading influences of his party, was highly creditable to his energy and independence. The Report, by which they were introduced, was a State Paper of uncommon value, both from its facts and reasonings, and the skill and power with which they were presented. The result cannot but be regarded as a favorable sign that a more wholesome feeling regarding Slavery, and the crimes that flow from it, lurks in the recesses of the popular mind than we should be led to infer from the action of the popular leaders.

Lest, however, too favorable an omen should be drawn from this circumstance, a contemporaneous act of the House materially qualified the degree of admiration it was calculated to excite. At almost the same time that it passed these resolutions, denouncing Slavery and the Mexican War, it passed another series expressive of its deep admiration and profound gratitude to General Taylor for the brilliant and satisfactory manner in which he had cut the throats of the Mexicans, in the very war which it had just denounced as one waged for the extension of Slavery! These resolutions, passed by a large majority of the House, were *rejected* by the Senate, by as large a proportionate vote, only *four* voting in the affirmative. Whether this was owing to a reprobation of the object of the resolutions, to a nicer sense of the inconsistent absurdity of the two expressions of opinion, or to a stronger feeling of personal responsibility on the part of a smaller body, we cannot but rejoice that the State was spared this exhibition of patriotic folly.

The petitions which were circulated, under the direction of this board, praying the Legislature to take the necessary measures for the holding of a Convention of the People, to ascertain their sense as to a secession of Massachusetts from the Union, were returned to the Legislature signed by nearly three thousand persons, more than half legal voters. They were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, before which a hearing was had on the 10th of March. Messrs. Phillips and Garrison set forth the rights and duties of Massachusetts in the premises, with great force and clearness, deriving much of their reason-

ing from the arguments of Legislative reports and resolutions, and especially from the very able report of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Bell, of Boston, on the annexation of Texas. The Committee recommended, and the House granted, that the petitioners have leave to withdraw, but the recommendation was accompanied by no report containing the reasons for it. This course was certainly one dictated by prudence,—for no reasons could have been given which would not have stultified the Collective Wisdom of former years, not to say the Chairman himself. We trust that the number of signatures to this petition will be greatly multiplied this year, and a still stronger appeal made to the Legislature and through them to the People. Petitions analogous to these were denounced in the Ohio Legislature as *treasonable*! If treasonable, only in the sense in which the Revolution was Rebellion! But, here, the State was concluded by its own foregone action from placing us in the category of traitors. Massachusetts had solemnly and repeatedly announced the contingency which would make a withdrawal from the Union justifiable. The contingency had happened. She is foreclosed from condemning those who ask of her consistent action. She would only pronounce her own condemnation. It is our business, as it is in our power, to make her ashamed, if we cannot make her consistent, by an untiring reiteration of this demand.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

The State of Pennsylvania has made the last year a memorable one in her annals by an act of public justice and humanity, worthy of her founders' memory and her early days. The Legislature of that State at its session, last winter, repealed the odious law which gave Slaveholders the privilege of holding their human cattle for six months within her borders, and thus made her a Slave State for that length of time, whenever a Southern man-stealer chose to avail himself of its provisions. Now, therefore, as soon as a Slave sets his foot upon her soil, by the permission of his master, his fetters fall and he comes within the protection of her laws. While Pennsylvania has thus refused to recognize the servile estate of the Slave who

passes her frontiers in obedience to the will of his master, she has also forbidden any of her civil functionaries from assisting in the recapture of any fugitive from the land of bondage, who may take sanctuary within her domain. By other provisions of this law analogous to those of the one existing in this State, and known as the "Latimer law," the sheriffs and gaolers are forbidden to use the gaols as places for the detention of recaptured Slaves, and all judicial and executive officers are prohibited from taking part in any process for the restoration of an escaped Slave to his master. This law, after passing the lower House, received the unanimous concurrence of the Senate, and the signature of the Governor. A result highly honorable to the efforts of our Anti-Slavery friends in that State, and indicative of a rapidly improving condition of public feeling on this subject. We trust that this awakened attention in the general mind of Pennsylvania will not be suffered to subside until she has placed her own colored inhabitants in all respects, upon an equality, political and otherwise, with her most favored citizens.

## CONNECTICUT.

While the Key-Stone State, lying as it does upon the very frontiers of Slavery, has thus honored herself by this righteous legislation, one of the New England States, a State which makes the loudest professions of all of piety and morality, has disgraced herself by action of a very different complexion.

Last autumn, in accordance with an act of the Legislature to that effect, an amendment to the Constitution of Connecticut, by which the equal political rights of colored men with white men were recognized, was submitted to the suffrages of the People. The proposition stood alone. The bald question whether the color of the skin should be a bar to political equality, was that which the lieges of Connecticut were called together to decide. And what was the decision? Out of some fifty thousand voters, only about twenty-five thousand took the pains to express any opinion at all; and of those that did vote, only some *five* thousand were found willing to recognize the man of color as a political equal with themselves. Those who abstained from

voting may fairly be taken as opposed to the amendment,— so it appears that out of the entire voting population, but about *one-tenth* were free from this base, degrading, absurd, inhuman, Anti-Christian prejudice of color! We doubt whether any community, in proportion to its size, could be found, in the world, out of this country, that would not be ashamed of political association with such ridiculous barbarians. The Hottentots rise to a high place in the scale of civilization in the comparison. For we do not believe that even a Hottentot would deny the humanity of a Connecticut pedlar, should one find his way to his kraal,— at least, if he had never heard of this political demonstration on the part of the Pedlar State.

The meanness of this transaction is a match for its absurdity. The State of Connecticut, we take it, has not the slightest scruples about putting her dirty hands into the pockets of these colored citizens — or rather inhabitants, who are no citizens — and making them pay their proportion of the expenses of the Government, in which they have no voice. Some seventy-five years ago there was none of the colonies louder in denunciations of the British Parliament for taxing them without representation than this same Colony of Connecticut. She sent Israel Putnam and (which is more to the present purpose) Benedict Arnold to fight the battles of liberty. And having got what she wanted, as far as Great Britain was concerned, she turns round and treats a portion of her own population in the same manner. The British Parliament imposed the taxes on tea, glass, and painters' colors, because it supposed that the Colonies were not strong enough to resist the imposition. The State of Connecticut does the very same thing, because she knows that the handful of poor colored men within her borders can offer no effectual resistance to this oppression. She is proved, by her own acts, to be recreant to principle. She is a traitor to the cause for which the Revolution was fought. She shows that now, at least, the spirit of Arnold predominates over that of Putnam in her composition.

Now what can be the motive for such a demonstration as this? The motive we apprehend to be two-fold. It is compounded partly of the wish which low and grovelling natures have to trample on something beneath them. This accounts for

much of the persecution of the colored people, everywhere in the Free States. It is a comfort to the lowest and most degraded of the whites to feel that there is a class of society which they can despise and trample upon. In the States which make the loudest pretensions to Democracy and regard for popular rights, the popular right of insulting and injuring the colored people with impunity is one of the most prized of all. This element, doubtless, enters largely into the mental composition of this nine-tenths of Connecticut voters. But there is yet another, the influence of which is no less potent. There is no State of which a greater proportion of the inhabitants are engaged in direct business with the South. This traffic, manufacturing, commercial, and peddling, extends itself through all classes of society. And the result is a depth and bitterness of Pro-Slavery depravity, of which this vote is but an imperfect type.

There is but one thing to be said in mitigation of the sentence of unqualified condemnation, which this recreant State deserves. And that is, that the abolitionists have hardly done their duty by her. They have been too much disposed to look upon her as joined to her idols, and fit only to be let alone. They have passed by to fields of greater promise, and left her to the tender mercies of Pro-Slavery religion and pseudo-abolitionism. The result is a proof of the value of the labors of American Theology and of the Third Political Party. Of a Theology in full communion with the Reverend men-stealers of the South, and of a Party which supported for Vice-President a man (the late Mr. Morris) opposed to the repeal of the black laws of Ohio, which showed no earnest opposition to the Annexation of Texas, and which now goes for the larceny of the whole of Mexico by piecemeal. We cannot but think (paradoxical as the proposition may seem, under the circumstances) that there may be souls in Connecticut, which may yet be saved alive. We commend it to the American A. S. Society as a missionary ground calling loudly upon them to come over and help it. A vigorous campaign or two carried on with the spirit with which the war has been carried into other parts of the enemy's country, we are confident would make an impression, the effect of which would be seen whenever this question shall come up again for popular adjudication.

## OHIO.

We have already alluded to the fact that Ohio had pronounced any proposition, to dissolve the Union, treasonable. The Committee, to which the petitions for that object were referred, was distinguished from the analogous one in this State by the fact that it accompanied its permission to the petitioners to withdraw, with a Report, setting forth the reasons for such a disposition of their prayer. As the Report is a brief one, and as it may be supposed to comprise all that can be said against this proposition, we give it entire as a matter of permanent reference. The spirit which it breathes is truly American. Its patriotism looks only to the inconvenience which might possibly result to themselves, exults in the presence of the material prosperity which Ohio has attained under, but in spite of, the Union, and entirely puts out of sight what it has done to the Slaves, her own support of Slavery and, indeed, very existence of such a national institution!

IN SENATE, Feb. 3, 1847, Mr. Goddard from the Select Committee, made the following

## REPORT:

The Select Committee to which was referred the Memorial of certain inhabitants of the counties of Columbiana and Mahoning, praying the General Assembly of the State of Ohio to declare the Federal Union dissolved, now report—

It did not need the instructions of the Senate to induce the Committee to report adversely to the prayer of the petitioners. The proposition is traitorous and disloyal. It is not a thing to be entertained, or reasoned upon. The perpetuity of the Union should be assumed—regarded as a fixed fact, not to be debated or questioned. Attachment to the Union should be a feeling—a sentiment in every American breast. It should be instinctive. The American should imbibe it with his mother's milk. It should grow with his growth and strengthen with his strength—be the confidence of his youth, the pride of his manhood, and the solace of his old age. Next to the duties which an American owes to his God, are the duties he owes to his country. The first of these is, Preserve the Union; the second, Pr serve the Union; the third, Preserve the Union.

The value of the Union cannot be calculated; if it could, Ohio could show how vastly important that Union is to her. Centrally situated, her citizens sending the products of their industry at one season, through the artificial channels of the North, and at another, by the great river of the South, finding access to the Ocean at points 2,000 miles apart, what portion of the Union could Ohio spare? Where would she draw the dividing line? Shall the beautiful river which forms her Southern boundary, now teeming with peaceful commerce, free as the air we breathe, and witnessing no hostilities but the generous competition of enterprising people, shall that be the boundary line between independent and unconnected States? Then may we expect to see arrayed upon the opposite banks, the hostile armies of the divided nations. Bristling cannon shall supplant the waving wheat upon its hills—the march of armed men tread down the products of its valleys, and the waters of the Ohio be discolored with the blood of her sons. Are our citizens prepared for this? Can the memorialists, many of whom belong to the gentler sex, averse to civil commotion and bloodshed—ministering angels to man when pain and sickness distracts him, tempering with their softness the rough asperities of man's nature—can they willingly see such possible consequences with complacency?

When the first President of the United States, the Father of his Country, was about retiring from that high office to which the partiality of his grateful countrymen had twice unanimously called him, he addressed to them an affectionate letter, prompted only by the great love he bore to the people he had saved, and containing sentiments which should be perpetually cherished by the American people. This paper, usually styled Washington's Farewell Address, and bearing date September 17, 1796, should, next to the Bible, be the daily reading of our people. His warning voice must be forgotten, his counsels contemned and disregarded, before any one can be willing to raise a parricidal hand against the union of these States.

The committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

CHAS. B. GODDARD.  
JOHN MARTIN.  
A. P. EDGERTON.

*Resolved*, That the memorialists have liberty to withdraw their memorial.

*Resolved* by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the Secretary of State cause to be printed an edition of Washington's Farewell Address, and distributed to each school district in the State.

## THE SOUTH.

We have again to record testimonies to the prevailing force of the Anti-Slavery idea, proceeding from the Slaveholding region, in the utterance and in the action both of the foes and the friends of Slavery. The State of Delaware came very near the glory of being the first emancipating State since the Modern Abolition Movement began. A bill providing for the gradual abolition of Slavery in that State passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 12 to 8; and was lost in the Senate only by a tie vote. Such a result as this is in the highest degree hopeful, and must be the precursor of entire success at no distant day. As an additional evidence of the progress of the spirit of Liberty in that State, it should be remembered that the only member of Congress from a Slaveholding State who voted for the Wilmot Proviso was Mr. Houston, member of the House from Delaware. Delaware, too, is the only Slaveholding State which has an organized Anti-Slavery Society. We have noticed with pleasure the reports of its action, and would commend its appeals for help to the favorable consideration of abolitionists in more fortunate regions. We cannot but attribute this legislative proof of an Anti-Slavery state of the public mind to the existence, and the efforts, of this body.

Among the most encouraging of these signs beneath our Southern skies, is the vote in Kentucky for a Convention to amend the Constitution. Though it has not been so declared, or made a topic of general agitation, it is well understood that the metamorphosis of Kentucky, either gradual or immediate, from a Slave State into a Free State, is the thought which informed the minds of the voters, when they cast their ballots for or against it. By the provisions of the Constitution, a second popular vote must be taken, before the Convention can be called; but the majority was so decidedly in favor of it, that it is hardly possible that any influences can prevent its being held. The majority was singularly triumphant. The majority is required to be not only of the persons voting, but of the whole number of persons *entitled to vote*, whether they exercise their



franchise or not. As the Examiner truly says, this is equivalent to a *two-thirds* requisition in ordinary cases. Still the majority was nearly *twenty-four* thousand out of all the voters, and nearly *fifty* thousand of those that actually voted. The Convention, therefore, we cannot doubt, will be held; and being held, it is hardly to be supposed it will separate without doing somewhat towards striking from the neck of Kentucky the millstone, which has made her lag so much behind her neighbor rival Ohio, in the race of wealth and improvement.

The establishment, too, of Anti-Slavery papers within the enchanted ground of Slavery, is another symptom, ominous of the breaking of its spell. The fact that they are demanded and can exist, is a most pregnant sign. It shows that the van-guard of the army of Liberty is advanced into the confines of the enemy's country. A lodgment is fairly made. The first step is taken. The stone is thrown. The question is asked. The Revolution, which never goes backward, is begun in the suburbs, at least, of the capital. The monarch within it trembles, for he knows that his doom is sealed. Darkness is the only element in which he can exist, and here are crevices made through which pours in the light of day. A newspaper is a more fatal enemy to a false institution than an army with banners. A printing press is an engine of more potency than all the artillery of tyrants. First in this field is the broad sheet of the Louisville Examiner, hoisted in the place of that of the True American, ingloriously struck when Cassius M. Clay exchanged the battle-fields of Liberty for those of Slavery. It is a paper conducted with very great ability. Mr. Vaughan is, certainly, a born editor. There is no paper that we see, on this side the Atlantic, more full of the marks of a thoroughly well informed and accomplished mind. And this, not only on the subject of Slavery, but on all points of general knowledge. Kentucky will make a great mistake, for her own improvement in other matters than the One Thing Needful to her political Salvation, if she should suffer his paper to languish for want of support. There are few men, we should judge, in the country, better acquainted with the political condition and relations of foreign nations, as well as with those of the different States of America, than Mr. Vaughan.

The "Crisis," recently established at Moundsville, Va., is another evidence of the spreading of an Anti-Slavery spirit into the domain of Slavery. We have not seen any numbers of this paper, and consequently cannot speak of its character, except by report. But the circumstance that a paper adopts the principle of abolition as one of its chief purposes, within the frontiers of Slavery, is significant enough of itself. The mere fact that the rightfulness of the great institution is questioned within its own proper jurisdiction, is one which cannot but appeal with great power to all the dwellers therein. It is analagous to the establishment of a free paper in St. Petersburg or Vienna. And we have no hesitation in affirming that the establishment of these two papers has not been retarded, but hastened by the "modern Anti-Slavery movement." Mr. Cassius M. Clay assured us, when he was here, some three years ago, that this was his opinion. If the Pro-Slavery spirit in Church and State, at the North, has been the support and stay of Slavery, which we know it has been, why should not the Anti-Slavery spirit, here, be of the same comfort and encouragement to the Anti-Slavery spirit, there? The Southern Abolitionist has nothing to fall back upon, except the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North. The Northern Abolitionists have given the most effectual help in their power to their Southern brethren, by their own agitation. The one would not have been, as yet, if at all, but for the other.

A very important movement has also marked the past year in Western Virginia. This portion of that great State has long felt the political oppression which the aristocracy created by Slavery inflicts upon the white citizen as a punishment for his consenting to the political annihilation of the Slave. Though this portion of Virginia is the most populous and wealthy part of the State, it has always been, politically, the vassal of the Slave-breeding and Slave-mongering Eastern Virginia, whose Ancient Dominion is secured by the votes of the masters in virtue of their ownership in men. This sense of injury has at length taken an organized form. The prominent persons in this organization are Slaveholders, themselves. The leading spirit appears to be the Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, a Presbyterian clergyman of eminence in his denomination. A very able Address,

written by this gentleman, has been widely circulated in that region. The plan suggested is vicious in the extreme, in point of principle. It is grounded on the interests of the white man, and scarcely alludes to the rights of the black man. It proposes the most gradual deliberation in doling out the boon of freedom. It recognizes the sale, the deportation, the colonization of the Slave population. Its aim is to make Western Virginia a Free State for the benefit of the whites, and not in justice to the blacks. This movement, we have reason to believe, extends itself into Western North Carolina, and Eastern Tennessee. But, although the most selfish and utilitarian aspect of this measure is made thus prominent, we are confident that a moral abhorrence of Slavery and a desire to do justice to the Slaves is the underlying foundation of the movement. In this faith we shall watch its progress with the deepest interest, believing that in these imperfect reachings after better things, we discern the beginning of the end.

While we have had the encouragement of these demonstrations at the South, we have not been without the testimony to the prevalence of the Anti-Slavery idea which the excited vigilance and alarm of Slavery could afford us. Southern Legislatures have passed indignant resolutions touching the Wilmot Proviso, declaring that they will not submit to any such restriction upon the occupation of conquered territory. Mr. Calhoun on his return from Washington was honored with a great reception by the sovereign State of the Union which he represents, on which occasion this determination was emphatically pronounced by his imperial constituents and responded to by himself. It is needless to speak of the vamping of Southern newspapers and politicians on this subject. A letter intended for private circulation found its way to the light, emanating from prominent Slaveholders in Charleston, reciting the fact of the publication of the National Era at the seat of government, and calling for the establishment of a national organ of Slavery at Washington, and the contribution of a fund of Fifty Thousand Dollars for that purpose. This demand for a national organ of Slavery spoke trumpet-tongued the sense which Slavery entertained of the work the Anti-Slavery organs have been doing. A stronger proof could hardly be given of the

impression made upon the general mind of the country by the Anti-Slavery movement, than the Charleston circular contains. It implies an admission of all that we could have demanded for ourselves. Its alarm at the establishment of the Era, to be sure, was no great proof of the sagacity of the writers. But, probably, none of them had seen a number of it; but took their notions of it from some floating newspaper paragraphs. Had they seen it, they would, very probably, have thought an organ of Slavery at the Capitol superfluous. Certainly none they could establish would treat Slavery and Slaveholders with more civility, or make larger demands in their behalf. *New Mexico* would probably have contented the chivalrous Carolinians; *all Mexico* is not too much for the supple servility of the Era to offer them! We heartily hope that this new organ may be set up and conducted with all the ability that the Slavery Party can furnish. And we should like to see the man who will have the courage to stand up before the world as its editor. We fear it will come to nought, if for no other reason, because any man of talent enough to be selected to be its editor, must be of sense enough to know that it would make him a by-word and a hissing to all foreign nations and to all future ages. The dirty work of Slavery will have still to be done, we apprehend, as it is done now, under the guise of Religion, of Abolition, or of Patriotism.

The Governor of Virginia, also, in his Annual Message of last year had the inhuman insolence to recommend it to the Legislature to take measures for the expulsion of the Free Blacks, Fifty Thousand in number, from the State. A Southern Convention for the purpose of taking measures for the protection of Southern rights from Northern fanaticism has been proposed and urged; but, we fear with little earnestness of purpose or reality of design. One branch of the legislature of Missouri passed a memorial to Congress asking for action on the part of the General Government, which would put an end to the emigration of the Slave population to Canada, and to the protection they there receive. The following humane argument forms a part of its reasoning, and would not fail to have its weight:

"The slaves that are recognized by our constitution and laws as individual property, are frequently lost, and the unfortunate

Slaves are decoyed into a cold and bleak region, utterly unsuited to their habits and constitutions,—are rendered more miserable and degraded than when they lived as Slaves.”

These instances, out of multitudes like them, must suffice to indicate the impression which the Anti-Slavery movement has made upon the Southern mind. In these, as in all other portions of our experience and our observations, do we discern the proofs of the soundness of the philosophy, and the sufficiency of the method, which we have followed from the beginning. The process, thus far, has been precisely what we have anticipated and predicted that it would be. The signs for which we first looked were perceived where we looked for them, in the indications of an altered public sentiment at the North; but now we discern the progress we have made by those which the South afford, as to the impression made on human hearts and souls, there. Even in the very desperation of Pro-Slavery fanaticism, do we see the hand-writing of its destiny upon the walls of the Slave-Babylon. The violence of the antagonism we have aroused, is an evidence to us of the strength of our position, and the telling effect of our fire. The increasing armies of fugitives, assure us that the Slaves have heard the good tidings of the preached Gospel of their deliverance; while their almost absolute safety, as soon as they set their feet upon the soil of a Free State, is a living proof of the spreading influences of that Evangel of Freedom. In the view of this part of our experience, as of all its others, we thank God and take courage.

#### ENGLAND.

We have found the zeal and fidelity of the English Abolitionists in the cause of our common humanity in which we are engaged, during the past year, as earnest and intelligent as ever. Notwithstanding the calamity which has affected, more or less, all classes in the mother country, they have never suffered the nearer distress to hide from their eyes or their hearts the greater distant wrong. With a true philosophy as well as an expansive philanthropy have they endured in their efforts for the American Slave, believing that they were thus doing

substantial service to the English peasant. They have perceived that the greatest of wrongs is the first one to be redressed, before the lesser evils of an advanced civilization can be successfully combatted. This faith they have made manifest by their works, in their labors at home and in their dispensation of help to us.

The Evangelical Alliance, having received its death-blow at the moment of its birth from its suicidal attempt to take Slavery to its bosom, has dragged on a lingering existence, having a name to live though it be dead. We related, last year, how the British Branch at Manchester, after it was relieved from the fatal presence of the American brethren, so far yielded to the pressure of the Anti-Slavery spirit at home, as to refuse communion with Slaveholders in the British division of the Household of Faith, leaving the American Branch free to make such covenant with them as its spiritual necessities required. This, however, was not suffered to pass without a protest on the part of Englishmen, renewed in the spirit of their minds by the influences of American Christianity. In May last a document was presented to the Meeting of the British Branch, held at Edinburgh, signed by a number of clergymen and others, in London, expressing their dissent from that action. The document stated "that the resolution referred to had caused the dissentients much regret and anxiety, and in a spirit of humility, faithfulness, and love, they desired to lay before the Conference their objections to it. They objected to it, first, "as taking up a subject, which, however important, was wholly extraneous and under discussion, and that the Alliance would thereby involve itself in the discussion of a question with which it had, and should have, no concern. Second, that while they deeply deplored, in common with the Alliance, the sin and enormous evils connected with Slavery, they thought that a wide distinction should be drawn between the voluntary upholder of that system, and one who, from circumstances over which he might have no control, became possessed of Slaves, or property including Slaves. Third, and above all, because their deep regard for the form and authority of Scripture compelled them to object to the introduction of grounds of exclusion, which they believed were not warranted by the plain Word of

God, and which would have shut out from the Alliance one whom an inspired Apostle addressed as a brother dearly beloved. The memorialists also begged to express the fears they entertained as to the effect of the resolution upon the minds of their American brethren, whom they had so recently invited to cross the Atlantic to join them upon a purely doctrinal basis." The American brethren, therefore, may rejoice in knowing that their mission to the father-land was not wholly in vain, seeing that they have converted some from the error of their ways, and made them like unto themselves.

The demonstrations of the English Unitarians have been of an extremely interesting and honorable character, during the past year. An invitation which had been sent by certain Boston clergymen to their English brethren, to attend the May Anniversaries in this City, being communicated to the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the attitude of some of its signers to the Anti-Slavery enterprise became a subject of remark. Much discussion arose from this circumstance in the Unitarian papers on both sides of the Atlantic. Letters from John Bishop Estlin, Esq. of Bristol, and of the Rev. Samuel May, our General Agent, which appeared in the London Inquirer, threw much light upon the question of the relations of American Unitarians, and of those clergymen in particular, to the Slaves and their cause. In the course of the autumn a Reply was sent to this invitation, signed by more than fifty ministers and nearly sixteen hundred laymen, setting forth the true doctrine of the duties and responsibilities created by the existence of such a crime as Slavery, in the most cogent yet affectionate manner. We regret to say that this fraternal demonstration has not met with the courtesy due to its spirit and its tone, from those who speak the mind of the leading influences of the Denomination.

The North of England Unitarian Tract and Missionary Society also passed a resolution, strongly Anti-Slavery in its character, and urging upon their American brethren active exertions for the overthrow of Slavery. This resolution was transmitted by the Secretary, Rev. George Harris, to the Rev. Dr. Gannett, accompanied by a letter calculated to soothe the prejudices and to gratify the spleen of the Pro-Slavery American Unitarians.

But there is nothing that appears in the action itself of the meeting to justify us in supposing that it correctly represents the feelings by which it was prompted. We place, therefore, all the credit of the resolution to the account of the meeting, and all the discredit of the accompanying epistle, to its Reverend Secretary. We are happy to announce action, honorable though late, on the part of American Unitarian ministers in relation to the letter forwarded in January, 1846, of which we gave some account in a former Report, from the Irish Unitarian Christian Society to their brethren in America. A well written and justly conceived Response has lately been prepared and signed by eight ministers of this denomination, and forwarded to its destination. We trust that its character and thoroughness will make amends to the Irish friends for the dilatoriness of its appearance.

The Anti-Slavery League has been zealous and active in its coöperation with us during the past year, and we have been in frequent communication with its able and indefatigable Secretary, Robert Smith. Early in the year a large number of meetings were held in London and its neighborhood, in which George Thompson, William H. Ashurst, John Bowring, the Rev. Mr. Burnet, William Howitt, and other eminent English Abolitionists took a prominent part. At other times during the year, meetings were held in various parts of the country with distinguished success. Too much importance cannot be attributed to this association for binding the Abolitionists of the two hemispheres into one body, upon the thorough principle of "No Union with Slaveholders." We shall continue to look to it as the main instrumentality by which the two countries may be made mutually to act the one upon the other, for the emancipation of the American Slave.

The last year, too, has been a marked one in our annals from the election of George Thompson, that well-trying and faithful friend of the American Slave, to Parliament. The man who was hunted in the streets of Boston, and escaped with his life only by flight from the Pro-Slavery fanaticism of 1835, is now an honored member of the British Senate, as the representative of one of the largest constituencies in the United Kingdom. We have said that this is a marked point in our history because



we know that the increased power his new sphere of influence will give him over the British mind, will be felt in behalf of the oppressed nation, for whom he did and suffered so much in this country. Mr. Thompson's election was an unusual triumph. The two former members were in the field, one of them a member of the Cabinet and a son-in-law of the late King. Notwithstanding the weight which these gentlemen must have had from their social position, and their possession of the borough, Mr. Thompson led his successful competitor, Sir William Clay, by more than three thousand votes, and his unsuccessful one, General Fox, by nearly four thousand five hundred! Such an instance is almost unparalleled (if not quite) in the history of English elections. It is to be accounted for by the number of *plumpers* that were polled for Mr. Thompson; by which technicality we understand votes given for only one candidate where two or more are to be elected — thus increasing the relative vote of that candidate.

The friends of the old candidates had placarded the neighborhood with the insulting question, "Who is George Thompson?" His reply to this taunting inquiry, in his speech at the polls, was a proud and noble one: "Ask Sir Edward North Buxton," (the son of the successor of Wilberforce,) "ask Dr. Lushington, ask Richard Cobden, ask the Negroes of the West Indies, ask the Bond-Slaves of America, ask the friends of India, who I am?" The electors, however, showed most emphatically that they knew who he was, without going any farther for information.

The political opinions announced by Mr. Thompson were certainly radical enough. He should vote for the largest free trade, and for the abolition of every monopoly, national and local; for universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and short parliaments; for the abolition of capital punishments and of flogging in the army; and against all endowments and religious establishments! This election was carried without any of the unscrupulous means often used at elections. Not a single paid agent was employed. "Not the least remarkable circumstance attending this contest," says the *London Post*, "is the fact, that Mr. Thompson, who is a teetotaller, refused to have his Committee-rooms in public houses, and the publicans, with few exceptions, avenged themselves by voting against him."

Not long before the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Thompson addressed a large assembly of his constituents, for the purpose of laying before them the state of the East India question, and to ask their permission to make Justice to India the main business of his public life. His speech was one of masterly ability. It showed him to be possessed of the rare felicity of his great predecessor in the championship of wronged India, — Burke, of clothing statistical details not only with light, but with beauty. A large portion of it was devoted to the evolution of Mr. Thompson's views as to the effect which the reforms he proposes, acting through the English Cotton-Market, will have upon American Slavery. He traced the history of the culture and manufacture of cotton, and showed how almighty has been their influence in building up and perpetuating Slavery. He showed the resources of India for the production of this staple, and the practicability of increasing the crop to such an extent as to drive the American article out of the market. Cotton he conceives to be the main bulwark and defence of Slavery, and if it can be reduced below a living, if not a remunerative profit, that American Slavery will die of inanition. Thus, with the philosophy of Chatham, though in a different spirit, he proposes "to conquer America in India!" The views of such a friend to the Anti-Slavery Cause as Mr. Thompson has proved himself to be, on such a question as this, deserve the fullest and most respectful attention. And in saying this, we are sure we speak the mind of every sincere Abolitionist.

We anticipate a very great amount of good to our cause from the agitation of the British India question in the British Parliament, and before the British people. We believe that its agitation and its successful issue must have influences which cannot be even guessed at, upon the condition of our Slavery. Slavery, however, does not exist in the United States because of the *wealth* the Slaves produce; but because of the *power* which our Constitution of government gives to the masters in virtue of their ownership in them. We believe every intelligent Slaveholder knows that the wealth of the Slave States would be vastly increased by emancipation. But by that act the sceptre of political sovereignty would pass from them. The existence of Slavery gives to the compact aristocracy

formed by it, the absolute control of the whole machine of State, the appointment of Presidents, the making of laws, the dictation of policy. It is the means whereby they hold the keys of the Treasury of the Nation. When did an aristocracy ever resign the element which gave them their power, as long as they could hold on to it? The English aristocracy, doubtless, know that if the laws relating to land, by virtue of which they have in times past governed the Nation, and which still render them so potential in it, were abrogated, it would be for the general good of the people, and perhaps for their own wealth; but have they ever been willing, as a body, to relinquish any of the privileges which gave them their political supremacy, except upon strong compulsion? Much less an aristocracy founded on ownership in human flesh, and vastly farther removed from popular and political influences, than the landed aristocracy of England.

It is true that absolute starvation might bring the Slaveholders to terms; but it by no means follows that because the culture of cotton is the only profitable way of employing Slave labor, now, that no other way could be devised, should this fail. There are other tropical productions to which it may be turned. The resources of the earth are no more exhausted than those of the human mind. Perhaps a portion of it may yet be used in manufacturing raw material to be imported from India! Who knows? Stranger things have happened. The immensely increasing demand of our own country, too, will help to support the system here. At any rate, we may be assured, that as long as the Slaveholder can get labor enough out of his Slave to keep him alive, he will cling to his system. Wealth is but a very secondary consideration with him. The state of things is widely different now, from what it was at the point of time just preceding the introduction of cotton. Then it stood upon its own strength. Now, we have clothed it with our own. Then, it was a tottering institution, trembling to its fall. Now, we have propped it up with the whole physical and moral force of the whole country. Then, Slavery was *in extremis*, and there was none so poor as to do her reverence. Now, she can stand against the world, for we have placed the crown of our Republican sovereignty on her head and the sceptre of dominion in

her hand. Her attitude is a very different one now from what it was sixty years since. East India cotton will make one of the elements of her overthrow, we doubt not; but it will by no means be the only one. The very length of time required for the successful issue of that experiment will give so sagacious and wily a power as Slavery ample opportunity to provide for its own interests.

## SCOTLAND.

The dealings of the faithful and tireless Abolitionists of Scotland with the recreant Free Church for its striking hands with men-stealers, have been maintained unflinchingly since we last gave an account of them. The Glasgow Emancipation Society, which Mr. Garrison has well described as "an honor to Scotland;" the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, which sprung into existence in the presence of that wickedness as its natural antagonist; and other bodies and individuals have been instant in season and out of season in this just and necessary work. Although the Pro-Slavery party in the Free Church has lost its leader, since our last Report, by the death of Dr. Chalmers, whose sectarian complicity with the Southern men-thieves has left a blot upon his fame which will endure as long as his memory lasts, still its zeal in the cause of Slaveholding fellowship seems to be undiminished under the guidance of its yet surviving blind guides, Drs. Candlish and Cunningham. We have the satisfaction of knowing, however, that the Free Church is feeling the effects of its crime and its blunder in the diminution of its influence and the loss of public respect and confidence.

The Rev. Dr. Ritchie and the Rev. Mr. Jeffreys distinguished themselves at the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, by the clearness of statement and eloquence of appeal with which they set forth the doings of the Free Church in the matter of Slavery, and exposed their wickedness. The Rev. Isaac Nelson, of Belfast, who is honorably remembered as one of the few sound faithful at the meeting to form the Alliance, in London, delivered an Address at Glasgow and afterwards at Edinburgh, at the request of the Free Church Anti-

Slavery Society, on the relations of that Church to Slavery, and considering also the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance from the same point of view. This lecture has since been printed in a cheap form, and we trust has had the wide circulation which it deserves. In this good work these Abolitionists had the assistance for a portion of the year from our indomitable fellow-laborer, Henry C. Wright, whose labors in that behalf never flagged nor wearied as long as he remained upon the soil.

During this year, also, the Scottish people had an opportunity of examining for themselves a specimen of a class of which they had almost doubted the existence, — a minister of the Gospel who publicly justified Slavery on its merits, as a humane and Scriptural institution. This was the Rev. Alexander Campbell, of Virginia, well-known in his section of country, as the founder of a sect bearing his own name, who, in company with one like unto himself, visited Scotland for the pious purpose of instructing the inhabitants thereof in "Primitive Christianity" and "Christian Union." He displayed his real character, however, so palpably, at the very outset of his career at Edinburgh, that he was allowed no peace, thenceforward. Wherever he went his character had gone before him, and he found the walls placarded with warnings to the people to beware of him, and champions ready to do battle for the right.

The Scottish Abolitionists, especially those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, deserve the thanks of the friends of the Slave everywhere, for the resolute and persevering manner in which they followed up and exposed this wolf in sheep's clothing that had stolen into their fold. The Rev. James Robertson, of Edinburgh, Secretary of the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, particularly distinguished himself by the diligence and zeal with which he gave himself to the chase of this unclean beast. He pursued him from city to city, and from all that appears, seems to have fairly hunted him out of the country.

We congratulate our Scottish friends upon the beneficial results that must flow from their fidelity in this matter. It has been a "strengthening occasion" to themselves as well as to us. We commend to their clear vision all who go among them with especial pretensions to holiness. The Anti-Slavery test is an excellent one to separate the gold from the dross, — the

precious from the vile. We entreat of them not to be weary in well-doing; but to continue faithful and fearless, as they have ever shown themselves, even to the end.

## IRELAND.

Our friendly relations with the steadfast Abolitionists of Ireland remain unchanged, and the obligations of the cause to them for services and assistance of the most valuable character were never greater, than during the last year. Their clearness of comprehension of the state of things in this country, of the nature of the cause, and of the difficulties we have to encounter, is scarcely less distinct than our own. They have made themselves one with us, in an eminent degree, and we feel ourselves united to them by ties of no common strength. They have been assiduous as ever in their testimonies to Americans visiting their country, and have done their best to make it clear to all such that Slaveholders and Pro-Slavery men are not regarded as fit company for Irishmen. Out of the many faithful friends to whom we are indebted for these good works, it will not be invidious to mention the names of James Haughton and Richard D. Webb, as those of two of the chiefest among them. They are not wearied by the well-doing of their many years of Anti-Slavery coöperation with us, but remain as fresh in their zeal and labors as in the beginning.

Early in the year the first named of these gentlemen forwarded to us an "Address from the members of the Cuffe-Lane Temperance Society to their countrymen in America." It was brief, but of singular pith and moment; uttering, in glowing words, their sense of the guilt of Slaveholding or Pro-Slavery Irishmen in America, and a burning expostulation with them for their participation in that wickedness. It was signed by the Rev. Dr. Spratt, an eminent Catholic divine, who stands only second to Father Matthew in the affections and confidence of the Teetotallers of Ireland, and by nearly nine hundred others. This address was published as widely as our means permitted, and was exhibited at the Annual Meeting at New York, the New England Convention, and other Anti-Slavery assemblies,

to encourage the hearts of the beholders by the sight of this proof of Irish sympathy.

The supplies of food which were sent from America to Ireland, during the famine which afflicted that country, gave our Anti-Slavery friends there, an opportunity of expressing their abhorrence of Slaveholding. A portion of these funds coming from the Slaveholding States, the question was raised in the Relief Committee, at Dublin, whether they should be received or sent back. The Committee decided in favor of retaining them, our Anti-Slavery friend Richard Allen voting in the negative. This conduct on the part of the Committee, was condemned, we believe unanimously, by the Irish Abolitionists, as a partaking of the fruits of blood and wickedness. Without entering into the casuistry of the point in ethics, whether the money of wicked men may be received for good uses, the previous conduct of the Committee in refusing the proceeds of a benefit night at the Queen's Theatre, in London, rendered them fairly obnoxious to censure for criminal inconsistency of conduct. Having made a distinction between gifts, and refused the money of the Opera-House on account of the manner in which it was obtained, the receiving of the Slaveholding money was virtually an approval of the Slaveholding character. It was a public declaration that they considered public singing and dancing as a greater sin than the public selling of men, women and children by auction. At any rate, the public protestation of the Dublin Abolitionists against this action, at a time when the land was gaunt with famine and misery, was in the highest degree honorable to their moral courage and fidelity to principle.

The last year has been marked in the annals of Ireland, and of the world, by the death of the great O'Connell. This is no place to recount his history or to pronounce his eulogy. It is for others to tell of his labors in behalf of the great movements for the Relief of his Religion, for the Reform of Parliament, and for the Repeal of the Union. But to his earnestness in the cause of West Indian Emancipation, his readiness to denounce the Colonization Impostures when exposed to him by Mr. Garrison, his indignant contempt for Slaveholders and their apologists, and his consistent hatred of Slavery and readiness to cooperate with Abolitionists, we may be permitted to pay the tribute of

our admiration and gratitude. He died at Genoa, on the 15th of May, 1847, in the 72nd year of his age, while upon a pilgrimage to the metropolis of his ancient Faith, of which he was ever a zealous votary and a dutiful son. But his frame was too much shattered by his toils and sufferings to permit him to reach the presence of the Head of his Church. Few men have left behind them a more famous name, or one that excites more opposite emotions in the hearers' minds. No man of his time was better hated and better loved than he. No man's character was submitted to such opposite constructions. But when the evil and the good that he has left behind him shall be pondered in the impartial balance of posterity, we believe that his services in the cause of civil and religious liberty, his recognition of moral power and the renunciation of violence and bloodshed of his later years, will be found to outweigh his errors, and that he will be recognized as among the foremost of the friends of mankind.

It would be ungrateful, before we leave the subject of our obligations to Ireland and Irishmen, not to record the pleasure and advantage which the Abolitionists of both sides of the Atlantic have enjoyed from the perusal of the Journal of Major John B. Colthurst, of Dripsey Castle, while acting as Special Magistrate, under the Apprenticeship Law, in the Island of Barbadoes. This work, which contains the best account we have ever yet seen of the transition state of the West India Islands and of the workings of the Apprenticeship System, was entrusted by its author to Mr. Garrison, at the time of his visit to the British Islands, in the year 1846, and has been for several months in the course of publication in the *Liberator*. It has excited much attention and interest, and we hope yet to see it in a more permanent form. At a meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 5th of October, 1847, the Mayor of Cork in the Chair, an Address was voted, and presented by a deputation, to this gentleman in acknowledgment to his services at that period of his life, expressing their abhorrence of the iniquity of the West India Immigration Scheme, and their sense of his interest in the American Anti-Slavery movement, as evinced by the furnishing of his journal for publication. To this Address Major Colthurst made an appropriate reply, con-



taining testimony on the subject of Slavery, Apprenticeship, Immigration, Compensation, &c., to which his experience and observation, as well as his personal character, give the highest value.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Since our last Report we have had the pleasure of welcoming back to the scene of his earlier labors our friend and fellow-laborer, Frederick Douglass, after an Anti-Slavery residence in the British Islands of nearly two years. We have expressed in former Reports our sense of his eminent services to our cause, while thus occupied. He has left a deep impression upon the public mind of those countries by his public and private efforts for the promotion of the Abolition of American Slavery. His condition as a fugitive Slave, and the fame that went before him, attracted a degree of attention and of expectation, which his talent, eloquence, and private excellence, more than answered and gratified. His public labors were continued in various parts of the country up to the time of his departure, and with an increasing general interest in him and them. On the evening of the 30th of March, a farewell *soirée* was given to Mr. Douglass, in London, at the London Tavern, at which Mr. Thompson presided, and at which many of the most distinguished persons connected with the Anti-Slavery movement assisted. On this festive occasion Mr. Douglass took his leave of his friends and of Great Britain, in a speech replete with sensibility and eloquence.

Mr. Douglass proceeded to Liverpool, to sail for Boston in the *Cambria*, on the 4th of April, in which steamer he had engaged and paid for a cabin passage. Almost at the moment of sailing, however, he was informed that his berth was given to another, and that he could not be allowed to proceed in the vessel except on condition of exclusion from an equality of privileges with the other passengers. Mr. Douglass was compelled by the shortness of time for consultation and consideration to submit to these terms; although there is no doubt that he could have recovered exemplary damages of the Company had he been able and disposed to remain for the purpose of prosecuting a

suit at law. He addressed a letter, however, stating the facts to the Liverpool Mercury, which called forth a loud and unequivocal burst of indignation from almost every press in Great Britain, from the London Times, downwards. The effect of this expression of opinion was a public communication from Mr. Cunard, himself, disclaiming the proceedings of his agents, and pledging himself that a like occurrence should never happen again. The captain of the Cambria did everything in his power to make Mr. Douglass's passage agreeable, resigning his own state-room for his accommodation, and he met with much attention from many of his fellow-passengers. But this was, after all, only gilding the chains which the Company's agents had fastened upon his limbs, in compliance with the base and cruel prejudice of their American customers.

Mr. Douglass was joyfully welcomed by his many friends in this country upon his arrival. On the 23d of April, a Reception Meeting was held at the Lyceum Hall, in Lynn, his place of residence at that time, which was addressed by Messrs. Garrison and Buffum, as well as by Mr. Douglass. On the evening of May 3d, a great Meeting of Welcome was held in the Belknap Street Church, which gave Mr. Douglass an enthusiastic reception. It was addressed by the chairman, — Mr. Nell, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Wendell Phillips, and several other gentlemen, and had the greatest possible success. Subsequently, at the time of the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at New York, there was a meeting of the colored people held for the same purpose, which was in the highest degree animated and enthusiastic.

Mr. Douglass was not permitted to leave England without substantial proofs of the regard of his English friends. The circumstance that he was still, in the eye of American law, a Slave for whom there was no city of refuge on the American soil, suggested to some of them the fitness of their suing out his patent of American citizenship, by paying the price of his head. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with his owner, and he was redeemed from his captivity. This transaction has raised questions, both as to its propriety and expediency, among the best friends of Mr. Douglass, and of the Slave, into which we do not propose to enter. But no one can

question the benevolent spirit which prompted this measure on the part of the British Abolitionists. Besides this instance of their liberality, however, a sum of money amounting to nearly £500, was raised for the purpose of purchasing a press and types to enable Mr. Douglass to establish a newspaper, as the organ of the colored people. Upon consultation with his friends here, however, he decided on abandoning, or postponing, this plan; and the amount contributed, was remitted in money. But on accompanying Mr. Garrison in his tour to Ohio, of which we shall presently speak, he found a state of things existing which seemed to him to warrant the experiment. He has, accordingly, established himself at Rochester, N. Y., and commenced the publication of the North Star, with the beginning of the present year.

Although it is a question upon which his friends will continue to entertain different opinions, whether or not this is the way in which the great talents of Mr. Douglass may be best exerted for the redemption of the Slave; still it can be no question whether a newspaper conducted with the ability which will be sure to mark the North Star, and informed by the uncompromising spirit of hostility to Pro-Slavery, in Church and in State, whether it assume the name and shape of Anti-Slavery, or appear in its own proper garb, can fail to be a potent instrumentality for good. His services must be great and important, be they rendered in what shape they may, and his influence cannot but be widely felt, let it be put forth in whatever direction he may think best. We shall heartily regret, in common with all his other personal and Anti-Slavery friends, in New England, his removal to so great a distance. But we shall endeavor to check whatever is selfish in this feeling, by the recollection that the field of such a reaper is the world, and that, be he where he may, he must needs find, or make a harvest. He will be followed to his new home, and his new sphere of usefulness, by the ardent good wishes and the confident hopes of his many friends, in this his first home of freedom. We believe that they will all be glad to do what they may to further his plans, and to make them as successful as he can desire. It will ever rejoice their hearts to hear of his usefulness and prosperity. And it will be their unanimous wish

and hope that this change of abode and variation of pursuit, may be in the highest degree conducive to the one and to the other.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Anniversary of the National Society was held at New York, in the Tabernacle, on Tuesday, May 11, Mr. Garrison, the President, in the chair. The audience was unusually large and exceedingly attentive. It was addressed at length by Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. Douglass, whose reception was gratifying in the highest degree. Mr. Garrison introduced Mr. Douglass in a speech which told of the difference between the treatment he had received from the people of Great Britain and that which awaited him on these shores. The speeches of Messrs. Phillips and Douglass were of the very highest order of their respective styles of oratory, and were greatly effective.

The business meetings were held at the Apollo Rooms, and continued through the usual three days. The attendance was unusually large, and the spirit and zeal evinced of the most encouraging nature. The principles of the Society were reaffirmed, its position as to State and Church defined anew, the principal events of the previous year briefly characterized, spurious Abolitionism exposed, our obligations to the living and the dead of other lands recognized, and the whole Anti-Slavery field brought within the range of its action. Plans of operations were discussed, and funds raised and pledged to carry them into effect. Evening meetings were, for the first time, held, and with the best effect. An occasional interruption, through the tact and courtesy of the meeting and its officers, was made only to increase the interest of the occasion. Friends were present from distant parts of the Union, among whom we were rejoiced to greet the Rev. James W. Walker, of Ohio, whose abandonment of the Third Party, and his fidelity in his ecclesiastical relations, had prepared us to honor him. The meeting was admitted to be, on all hands, one of the most spirited and animating that we have ever held.

## THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

The last Convention, which bears the name of New England, but which is in fact one of the truest Anti-Slavery spirits of the whole country, was no whit behind any of its predecessors in any good words or works. It occurs during a week of anniversaries, every hour of which is filled up with those of various sectarian bodies and benevolent associations; yet there is none of them, nor all of them put together, that excites so much interest and conversation, as the sessions of the New England Convention. A better one was never held, as far as its numbers and character, and the quality of the speaking were concerned, than this. It was held in the Hall formerly the Marlboro' Chapel, but recently occupied by the Chinese Museum, which, though spacious in its accommodations, was uncomfortable to the audience, and difficult for the speakers, owing to its dismantled condition. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the hall was thronged to its utmost capacity, and the speaking could hardly have been better under the most favorable circumstances. Besides Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Remond, Pillsbury, Foster, W. H. Channing, Theodore Parker, Stetson and others of the speakers to whose words we are accustomed to listen, we were for the first time in this Convention, cheered by the voices of Mrs. Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, of Mrs. Jane Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio, and Mr. William W. Brown, (a fugitive Slave,) recently of New York. The effect upon the great numbers that, at various times, were present, must have been of an arousing and suggestive nature.

The Convention was made especially rememberable to those who have been in the habit of attending these assemblies in former years, by its being the last time in which we looked upon the venerable presence and listened to the honored voice of SETH SPRAGUE. This Anti-Slavery patriarch availed himself of this last interview with the friends with whom he had acted for so many years, to express his entire consent to the doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders," which he had never done before in its fullest extent. His last words were words of blessing and encouragement. He went from this assembly to his death-bed, leaving a precious memory behind him.

The evening sessions of the Convention were not without the testimony to the popular idea of the rights of Abolitionists, that is borne by Pro-Slavery disturbance. Riotous demonstrations were made upon the two last evenings of the Convention, which, to some extent, interrupted the proceedings. They were overborne, however, by the patience of the audience and the power of the speakers. In despite of the rioters, the severest things that could be said on Church and State, by Mr. Remond and Mr. Pillsbury, were heard, and Mr. Phillips closed the last evening, as he had done the previous one, with a speech which was heard from the beginning to the end, and gave a golden conclusion to the whole matter.

The chief drawback upon the satisfactions of the Convention was the absence of Frederick Douglass, whom multitudes were anxiously expecting to hear on this occasion, for the first time since his return home. He had been elected President of the Convention, but was unable to take his seat, or indeed to attend any of the sessions, being confined to his house by severe illness. His presence was all that was necessary to have made the occasion one of unqualified satisfaction to all in attendance.

## ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

During the first part of this year the operations in this State were under the direction of Mr. Loring Moody, our General Agent, besides whose own services we had those of Messrs. Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, and Addison Davis, by whom meetings were held and Conventions attended, in various parts of the State, and with excellent effect. Shortly before the New England Convention, Messrs. Joseph C. Hathaway, Charles L. Remond, and William W. Brown came into the State, and we enjoyed the advantage of the services of the two former gentlemen until they were removed to Western New York, and of the latter throughout the year. The labors of Mr. Brown have been eminently acceptable and useful, wherever they have been exerted.

Mr. Moody having resigned his post as General Agent shortly before the New England Convention, and the Board subsequently finding that the services of the Rev. Samuel May, of

Leicester, could be secured for that duty, he received the appointment and entered upon his duties in the month of June. The services of this gentleman have been of a very various and valuable description. The ability, industry and thorough fidelity and devotion to the cause, which had always marked his character, and which had made us desirous of securing his assistance in this capacity, have been displayed in the discharge of his office in a manner to secure the esteem and confidence of all with whom he has had to do. He has conducted our operations with efficiency and economy, and made our small supplies of men and money go as far as they possibly could. We trust that we may long enjoy the benefit of his services. We have been fortunate enough, too, to retain the assistance of Mr. Moody, who has acted for the chief of the time since he relinquished the General Agency, as a financial Agent, with assiduity and success.

Mr. May and our other agents have been almost continually in the field, lecturing, holding serial meetings, attending Conventions and meetings of County Societies, procuring subscribers to Anti-Slavery papers, selling Anti-Slavery publications, collecting money, and otherwise laboring in their vocation. In these labors they have had the occasional assistance of Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, Buffum, Increase S. Smith, Bliss, Watson, (a fugitive from Slavery,) and other volunteers. Mr. Pillsbury has been in the field, with great success, during nearly the whole of the year, and Mr. Douglass and Mr. Foster for portions of it. The amount of Anti-Slavery work done, considering the means at our disposal, we believe will compare favorably with the result of any former year.

Early in the summer President Polk visited Boston, upon a tour to the Eastern States. We felt it to be incumbent upon us as your representatives, and the representatives of the Slaves, to make the same demand of him that we had addressed to his predecessor, John Tyler, on the occasion of his Bunker's Hill visit,—that he should EMANCIPATE HIS SLAVES! Accordingly, an Address was prepared by our direction, by Mr. Garrison, to this effect, brief, cogent and impressive, and proper measures were taken to obtain an opportunity of presenting it to him. We hardly need say that no such opportunity was afforded us.

But we have no doubt that the letter requesting the interview, enclosing a copy of the Address, reached his hands;—so that, substantially, our purpose was answered, as well as our duty done.

Towards the close of the year, we prepared a Memorial to the Legislature, requesting that body “immediately to call a Convention of the people of this Commonwealth, to determine what measures shall be taken for protecting their rights and liberties, and for a peaceful SECESSION FROM THE AMERICAN UNION,” for sundry reasons immediately following. This memorial we have scattered widely through the State, accompanied by a circular, urging upon those to whom they were sent, to procure as many signatures as possible in their neighborhoods, for the purpose of being laid before the General Court, at its present session. In this work we earnestly ask your active coöperation. We believe that a great number of names can be obtained to these petitions, sufficient to secure a respectful consideration of them in the legislature, and to draw the attention of the country to the subject. We trust that no time may be lost in despatching this urgent and necessary work.

In other parts of the country the Anti-Slavery agitation has been kept alive by the well-tried instrumentalities of the press and the voice. The National Anti-Slavery Standard has maintained the high character for ability, thoroughness and literary excellence which its present editor has impressed upon it, since he has had it under his charge. The Pennsylvania Freeman, under the direction of a committee of the Eastern Pennsylvanian Anti-Slavery Society, and the Anti-Slavery Bugle, in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Jones, have maintained their hold upon the confidence of the Abolitionists of their several States and of the country at large. In New York the American Society maintained an agency under the direction of Mr. Hathaway, mainly for the purpose of procuring subscribers to the Standard, from early in the summer until the close of the year. Besides Mr. Hathaway, Messrs. Remond, Hudson, Lewis Hayden, Nelson Bostwick, Stebbins, J. C. Holley have been employed in that field. Dr. Hudson and Mr. Hayden are still engaged in this portion of the country, upon the same mission, and we believe with encouraging success. In Pennsylvania the Messrs. Burleigh, assisted occasionally by Mrs. Mott and other friends, and in Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Jones,



Messrs. Brooke, Bassett, J. W. Walker, H. W. Curtis, V. Nicholson, N. Selby and others, have borne up the testimony of the American Anti-Slavery Society, of "No Union with Slaveholders!" The fight has been well fought, and the faith well maintained, as far as our knowledge extends, wherever the true cross has been assumed and the true faith received. We believe that the genuine Anti-Slavery Movement never occupied firmer or higher ground than it does at the opening of the present year. May its close bear witness to a loftier position, won by a purer consecration of our lives and labors to the Great Principle and Purpose which binds us together!

#### PUBLICATIONS.

Last spring, Mr. Wendell Phillips collected in a pamphlet the papers which he had prepared for the Standard, in reply to the work of Mr. Lysander Spooner upon the Unconstitutionality of Slavery. The ingenious sophistry of Mr. Spooner was of no consequence, excepting in as far as it was made the means of blinding the eyes of persons unaccustomed to the construction of laws, and of reconciling them to give their support to the chief political bulwark of Slavery, under the delusive idea that it might be made an instrument of its destruction. It is no easy task to prove an axiom, and that which Mr. Phillips had undertaken was little less than this. It was like endeavoring to refute an antagonist who should maintain that there is no regal or aristocratic element in the British Constitution. Mr. Phillips, however, performed his task with great acuteness, learning and wit, which must prevent the necessity of the work ever being done again. He published this edition of five thousand copies, at his own expense, and presented it to the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies. The demand for the work in Ohio and New York, the chief fields of the late Liberty Party, has, we believe, nearly exhausted the edition. But the abandonment of the doctrine of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution, by the Convention at Buffalo, which virtually dissolved it by adopting the nomination of the Independent Democrats, having removed the bane, has done away with the necessity of the antidote. Another edition will not, therefore be published at present.

Later in the year, William W. Brown published the *Narrative of his Life*, while in Slavery and since his escape. His story was deeply interesting and well told. It was of a nature to arouse attention to the character of the system under which he had suffered, and to excite a yet stronger detestation of it. It has been an instrumentality of great good to the cause to which the author has devoted himself, his experience and his talents. We are happy to learn that the first edition having been exhausted in a few months, Mr. Brown has issued a new and enlarged edition of his *Narrative*, with an Appendix. We commend it to all Abolitionists as a most effectual medium for the dissemination of the knowledge of the facts of Slavery among the people.

## FOURTH OF JULY AND FIRST OF AUGUST.

The holiday afforded by the Fourth of July, was devoted to a better purpose than the exaggeration of our National character and pretensions, by the members of this Society. An Anti-Slavery pic-nic was held, under the auspices of this Board, in a beautiful grove in Waltham, and attended by large numbers from the city and surrounding country. The weather was delightfully propitious. The audience was addressed by Messrs. Garrison, W. I. Bowditch, Buffum, White, Weiss, Stetson, W. H. Channing, Brown, and other gentlemen. A voluntary choir increased the interest and effect of the occasion by their Anti-Slavery songs. The success of the occasion was entire. The day was also appropriately observed at Plymouth, Princeton, and other places.

The First of August, however, has long since succeeded to the place of the Fourth of July in the regard of all lovers of impartial liberty, as the true jubilee of Freedom. The First occurring on Sunday, arrangements were made by us for holding an open air meeting in Tenean Grove, in Dorchester, on the day preceding. Unfortunately, the weather proved most unpropitious, and compelled the meeting to hold its sessions in the vestry of a neighboring church, besides curtailing it of its fair proportions. A goodly and increasing audience assembled, however, which was addressed by Messrs. May, Brown, Buffum, Quincy, Pillsbury, Garrison, Bowditch, Moody, and others. In the afternoon, the

numbers assembled, and the improved state of the weather, rendered an adjournment to the grove convenient, as well as possible, and the meeting terminated in the most prosperous manner.

The day was also duly celebrated at Worcester and at New Bedford, on Sunday; and on Monday the colored citizens of Boston evinced their joyful sense of the event of which it was the Anniversary, by a procession through the city, and a dinner in a neighboring town. The respectability of the appearance of the procession excited general remark on the part of all spectators, and the entire respect which was paid to it by the crowded streets, so different from the disgraceful demonstrations of a quarter of a century ago, was a proof that if the modern abolition movement has done nothing else, it has improved the condition of the free man of color among ourselves.

#### MR. GARRISON'S VISIT TO THE WEST.

The last year was made a memorable one to the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania and Ohio by a brief visit of Mr. Garrison, which was well filled with Anti-Slavery labor, as long as he continued in those States. We regret that we shall not be able to do more than indicate the line of his meetings, without going into the details of their triumphant success. Immediately after the meeting on the first of August, Mr. Garrison proceeded to Norristown, Pa., to attend the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. This meeting lasted three days and was attended by great throngs of people. The presence of Mr. Douglass helped to swell the interest and the enthusiasm of the occasion. Thence Mr. Garrison, accompanied by Mr. Douglass, proceeded to Harrisburg, the capital of the State, the inhabitants of which distinguished themselves by a mob, which broke up the meeting in a riotous and disgraceful manner. At Pittsburg, however, he met with the warmest of welcomes, and his meetings were brilliantly successful. From Pittsburgh Mr. Garrison and his companion proceeded to New Lyme, Ohio, where the Annual Meeting of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society was held. This anniversary was greatly successful, many persons having travelled hundreds of miles to

attend it, and to see the face and hear the voice of which they had heard so much. Meetings were subsequently held at Painesville, Munson, Twinsburg, Oberlin, Massillon, Leesburg, New Lisbon, Warren, Ravenna, Cleveland, and other places. These meetings were of the most exciting and animated character. Thousands and tens of thousands collected to hear the words of Anti-Slavery Truth from the lips of the Pioneer of the Anti-Slavery Movement. A degree of enthusiasm was evinced almost unknown in these more phlegmatic regions, and an amount of good must have been done, incalculable in extent and degree. Besides the assistance of Mr. Douglass, Mr. Garrison derived great help from that of Samuel Brooke, Dr. Richmond, Dr. Peck, Lucretia Mott, and many other eloquent and efficient friends.

The last meeting in Ohio was held at Cleveland, on the 11th and 12th of September, and was a fitting termination to the brilliant series. But it was also, unfortunately, the conclusion of Mr. Garrison's services in the field, for that season. Such a number of public meetings, held at considerable distances from each other, of so exciting and fatiguing a character, with all the exposures incidental to travel and open-air meetings, combined to terminate his career suddenly, by a very severe and alarming illness. By this disorder he was confined at Cleveland until the 21st of October, when he set out on his homeward journey, in company with Henry C. Wright, who had most kindly joined him, upon hearing of his dangerous condition. He arrived at home on the 28th, but was not sufficiently recovered from his prostrating disease to resume his public duties until the beginning of the present year. We have to acknowledge, on behalf of the Cause, the deep obligations to which the Abolitionists of this country and of the world are placed to Mr. Thomas Jones, of Cleveland, for the fraternal hospitality and attentions he extended to Mr. Garrison, while his guest; to Mr. Brooke, Mr. Wright, Mr. Foster, and the multitude of kind friends besides, in Cleveland, who did all in their power to promote his comfort and his recovery. We regard them as deserving of more than a private and particular gratitude. Their ministrations were services of the highest nature rendered to the Cause itself.

## RETURN OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

The last year has been marked in our Anti-Slavery Annals by the return to his native land of Henry C. Wright, after an absence of five years. He took leave of his multitudes of friends in the British Islands in a most interesting and touching letter addressed to the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and sailed from Liverpool on the 19th of August, arriving at Boston early in September. The years he spent abroad were well bestowed for the promotion of the various great movements for the amelioration of human condition to which he has devoted his life. The agitation which is shaking the Free Church of Scotland, arising from the taint of the blood-money, is largely due to his uncompromising and faithful testimonies and labors. The Anti-Slavery flame was perpetually fanned and fed by his words and works, and the hearts and hands of our many friends in Great Britain and Ireland encouraged and strengthened by his intelligent zeal and perfect mastery of the subject. The great doctrine of the Treatment of Enemies, demanded by the highest Morality and the truest Expediency, also received a wider attention and a deeper consideration than had ever before been given to it. The Cause of Temperance, too, found in him a constant and consistent champion.

But the World is the field of an expansive nature like that of Mr. Wright, and he will be welcomed back to this portion of it by all who desire to see it fruitful of good things. A sturdy husbandman, like him, can never find himself where work is not to be done. And surely, there is nowhere that needs the tilth and husbandry of the most stalwart laborers more than this corner of the Vineyard. It was this view of things that made his many friends and admirers in the Old World willing, though sad, to give him the God-speed when he turned his face towards his native land. He had done them good service, but they saw that there were others in at least equal need with themselves, crying to him, "Come over and help us!" His presence with us, after his abode with them, will make another link in the silver chain that binds the Abolitionists of the two hemispheres together, and makes them of one mind and of one heart.

## THE NATION AND SLAVERY.

The past year has been fraught, as has every one that has preceded it in its flight, with proofs that one main purpose of our national existence is the protection of Slavery. The President, in his speech from the throne, speaks the words which she has put into his mouth. The Massachusetts Minister at the Court of St. James applies his best energies to the relief of the Tobacco Interest. The President calls upon Congress to compensate Ruiz and Montez for the loss they had suffered through the successful rising of their African victims, which even a Slaveholding United States Bench had pronounced justifiable. And that no public evidence of our National infamy might be wanting, but that we might be condemned of all nations out of our own mouths, the Washington "Union," the Organ of the Administration, of July 3d, contained an advertisement, offering for sale to the highest bidder, on the 13th of July instant, the following property, viz.

"One Negro Woman, named Elizabeth, about the age of sixty years; and one Negro Girl, named Caroline, about the age of twenty years,—seized and levied upon as the property of Henry Miller, and sold to satisfy Judicials, No. 22, October term, 1847, *in favor of the Post Master General*; also, Judicials, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, to June term, 1847, *in favor of the United States*, and against said Henry Miller.

ALEXANDER HUNTER,

*Marshal of the District of Columbia."*

The sale took place, and the proceeds thereof were placed in the Treasury of the American People! The time of this transaction was well chosen. The announcement appeared on the eve of the great Feast of the Declaration of Independence, and the sale was consummated while the atmosphere yet reeked with the fulsome breath of patriotic orators bragging of Liberty and Equal Rights! Are we not, indeed, a nation of Slaveholders, and is there any immunity to be purchased for any of us except by the cancelling of the bond sealed with our brother's blood?

The Judicial Authorities of the Nation have also shown themselves intelligent and fit depositaries of the trust reposed in

them, of guarding the sanctity of Slavery. Last winter the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced judgment in a case which had gone up on a *pro formâ* division of opinion in the Court below, in which it reaffirmed its decision in the infamous "Prigg Case," better known as "Judge Story's Decision." The action was one brought under the Act of 1793, the constitutionality of which was established by that decision, by one Jones, against Isaac Van Zandt, of Ohio, for the penalty of five hundred dollars, for concealing and harboring a Fugitive Slave. The verdict of the jury and the decision of the Court of ultimate appeal was against the humane defendant, who did not long survive the decree, but found a refuge in the grave from the vexations and embarrassments which his country visited upon him for hiding the outcast. As in the Prigg Case, the New England Judge was made the mouth-piece of this exposition of the protection given by our Constitution and Laws to human rights. Mr. Justice Woodbury pronounced the opinion of the Court, which affirms that "the Constitution itself flings its shield, for security, over *such property as is in controversy in the present case,*" and that Slavery "is one of its *sacred Compromises*!" The opinion concludes thus:

"Whatever may be the theoretical opinions of any as to the expediency of some of these Compromises, or of the right of property in persons which they recognize, this Court has no alternative, while they exist, but to stand by the Constitution and the Laws with fidelity to their duties and their oaths"!

Within the short time that has elapsed since this decision was made known, as many as three or four actions, in as many different States, have been prosecuted to a successful issue by Slaveholders, against persons whose humanity had led them to give shelter or assistance to Slaves. And these actions will, undoubtedly, be multiplied in years to come. Besides the judicial comfort which this recognition and publication of a law, supposed to be obsolete, has given to the man-stealer, the past year has borne witness to the truth of our predictions as to the practical operation of "Judge Story's Decision." Under that decision, within the last twelve months, in numerous instances, persons not proved to be Slaves, and in one or two, persons known to be free, have been seized and carried into hopeless

captivity. By that decision the Slaveholder may seize and carry back his Slave, without any legal process, if he can do it without a breach of the peace. Consequently, the personal liberty of every black man, and of every white man, too, is placed at the mercy of a successful irruption of kidnappers. Well has that decision been described as "*infamous!*" An infamous exposition of an accursed Compact!

## SLAVES AT THE NORTH.

Notwithstanding this protection given to Slavery by the Constitution and the Laws, we are happy to know that the ranks of the Emigration from the South are yearly swelling their numbers. And, in spite of the terrors of the law, resistance has been repeatedly made to attempts to re-capture Slaves, in one case terminating in the death of one of the kidnappers. A breach of the peace is a thing not to be desired; but when a breach of the peace is made a necessary preliminary to a process for discovering whether a man belongs to himself or another, the law which requires it should bear the blame.

In the course of the last summer a Brazilian ship brought to this country three Slaves as a portion of its crew. Being desirous of obtaining their liberty, a Writ of Habeas Corpus was sued out, and attempts made to secure their rights according to law. We have not room to recount all the various steps, backward and forward, in this business, and the most extraordinary decisions of the New York Judges. At last, however, the Gordian knot was cut, by the Slaves suddenly disappearing from the gaol in which they were detained. As they were, according to the last decision of the last Judge that had to do with them, in the custody of the Captain, no criminal offence was committed on the part of any persons privy to the escape. In the eye of our law, it was a simple desertion of seamen. At any rate, the Brazilian Captain had to depart without them; but we are happy to have reason to believe that they have not suffered by their change of country and condition. Mr. John Jay, their Counsel, distinguished himself by his professional labors in their behalf, and Mr. Gay and Mr. Elias Smith are deserving of great credit for their services in the same cause.



## FOREIGN EMANCIPATION.

Since our last Report we have been favored with the sight of the Proclamation issued by the Bey of Tunis, whereby he abolishes Slavery forever, in his dominions. As this rebuke to American Republicanism and Christianity by a Mahometan Despot is not long, we copy it entire.

"From the Servant of God, the Mushir Ahmed Basha Bey, Prince of the Tunisian Dominions,

To our Ally, Sir Thomas Reade, Consul-General of the British Government at Tunis.

The servitude imposed on a part of the human kind, whom God has created, is a very cruel thing, and our heart shrinks from it.

It never ceased to be the object of our attention for years past, which we employed in adopting such proper means as could bring us to its extirpation, is well known to you.

Now, therefore, we have thought proper to publish that we have abolished Men's Slavery in all our dominions, inasmuch as we regard all Slaves who are on our territory as free, and do not recognize the legality of their being kept as a property.

We have sent the necessary orders to all the Governors of our Tunisian Kingdom, and inform you thereof, in order that you may know that all Slaves that shall touch our territory, by sea or by land, shall become free.

May you live under the protection of God!

Written in Moharrem, 1262, (23d January, 1846.)"

And yet another example has been set to Man-stealing America by a despotic Prince of Europe. The Kings of the North shall rise up in judgment against this nation and condemn it! Action, which we have long known to have been in contemplation, has at length been taken. Accounts from St. Thomas, to the 24th of September, inform us that a Royal Decree has been issued, proclaiming the Abolition of Slavery in the Danish Colonies. All Slaves under sixteen years of age are declared absolutely free, from the 18th of September. Those above that age are to be held in the condition of Apprentices for four years from that time.

The 18th of September is the birth-day of the "Royal Dane," who has thus wisely connected the new birth of this portion of his subjects into recognized humanity, with his own natal day.

King Christian, — for such is his style, — has certainly vindicated his right to his baptismal appellation. He has made his reign illustrious in the annals, — not of his kingdom only, but of the world. He has given a much better argument for despotic power, than was ever urged by American Statesman or Doctor in Divinity. He is truly, as the Emperor Alexander said to Madame DeStael, of himself, “a happy accident.”

We are sorry that he has annexed the vexatious and mischievous condition of apprenticeship, to any part of his boon of liberty. Four years is too much of life to be taken from a man. We wish he had dissolved the whole enchantment at once. But could he be expected to be wiser in this matter than his kindred England? We prophecy, however, that the term of apprenticeship will be greatly abbreviated, if it be accepted at all, by the planters themselves. Perhaps the condition was added, that the masters might have an opportunity of sharing in the act of grace; by relinquishing their claims to the qualified servitude of their former slaves. It is hardly possible they can fail to have profited by this part of the experience of the neighboring British Islands. At any rate, Slavery will soon be blotted from the dominions of another power. An absolute Northern Monarch and a Barbary Bey have followed the wise example of the “fast-anchored Isle.” France will soon follow. Spain cannot long delay. The iron shroud will in time close upon our own republican despotism. Three of the windows of its hope are already vanished. Its night of death is at hand.

## ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

Again has the Anti-Slavery Cause to thank the women of America and of the British Islands for the help they have brought to it. The Fourteenth National Bazaar surpassed any of its predecessors in the beauty and value of its stores, and equalled the most prosperous of them in its result. This circumstance, in view of the fact that the pecuniary pressure of the times was such as had hardly ever been known before, was justly considered as triumphant success. The indefatigable Anti-Slavery women of England, Scotland and Ireland, again evinced the largeness of their views and the Catholicity of their benevolence,

by the gifts of unsurpassed beauty and value, which they poured into the treasury of the Slave. This, in view of the extraordinary drain upon their means for the relief of their suffering countrymen, was a touching evidence of the sincerity of their sympathy with the American Slave and of the clearness of their perception of the depths of degradation in which he is plunged, far below the lowest deep of European poverty and oppression. The labors of their American sisters were also put forth with increased energy and zeal, which showed that their motive-power is a principle and not a sentiment, — that they have taken up the Cross of this Reform, with an intelligent and abiding purpose, to lay it down only at the hour of victory.

The hall was decorated with consummate taste and skill, and in the evenings resounded with the eloquence of the choicest Anti-Slavery spirits. On one evening, Henry C. Wright illustrated his speech concerning the Anti-Slavery spirit of the British Islands by appealing to the Address of FORTY THOUSAND women of Scotland, which he had brought home with him on his return. The endless line of signatures was festooned around the ample walls, which yet did not afford room enough for a full display of them. It remained until the close of the Bazaar, and was an object of much curiosity to visitors and of much interest and encouragement to friends.

Fairs were also held at Weymouth, New-Bedford and elsewhere in this State, and at Philadelphia, New Lyme, in Ohio, West Winfield and Rochester, in New York, and various other places in different States, and in all with excellent success.

#### POLITICAL PARTIES.

The last year has been one of no little ferment in the political parties which divide among themselves the citizens of this Republic. The approach of the time when another President is to be made has had the usual effect of making the Political cauldron seethe and bubble, and the usual agitation of the scum which naturally rises to its surface. Neither of the great parties has, as yet, selected the man whom it would choose to reign over us, when the days of Mr. Polk are numbered. But the manœuvres of both, preliminary to the impending campaign, sufficiently indi-

cate the character of the tactics by which its results will be determined. The potential voice of the Slave Power must be listened to by both. Neither is ready to take a stand which might make it independent of that supreme influence. They will still vie in their endeavors, each with the other, to secure the support, which, in the present organization of parties, can alone give them the victory. It is only over the prostrate body of the Slave that either can hope to reach the high places of power and patronage.

Though no regular nominations have been made, there has been no lack of aspirants to the chair of State. General Taylor, Mr. Clay, General Cass, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Benton, Mr. Corwin, Mr. Webster, Judge Woodbury, and other politicians have been put forward by State Legislatures, Party Conventions, or individual nomination, as suitable incumbents of that high position. The Mexican War has been, in effect, but a preparatory skirmish which is to usher in this grand battle. Both parties, and all candidates are striving so to use it as to make it ancillary to their own objects. And there is no reason to hope, that either, or any, will be scrupulous as to the attitude they assume in this regard, so it will improve their chances for success. No considerable body of men is ready to risk the prospects of the parties with which they are identified, by making a decided stand against the shedding of our brother's blood or the plunder of his lands for the purposes of Slavery. Vague and general declarations there are enough, and there is an honorable minority of both parties determined to be faithful in this behalf, but a resolute purpose, pervading any considerable portion of either, to hazard all upon the stake of Liberty or Slavery, is nowhere to be discerned.

Last September, the Whigs of Massachusetts held a Convention at Springfield, for the ostensible purpose of selecting a candidate for Governor of the State; but really, on the part of the leading influences in it, for the recommendation of Mr. Webster to the National Convention as the Whig Candidate for the Presidency. In order to secure this object, the Pro-Slavery majority were willing to yield minor points which they had insultingly refused the last year to the Anti-Slavery minority, and even to pass resolutions equivalent to those which they

had then scouted from Faneuil Hall. In addition to these concessions, Mr. Webster himself was brought forward, and made a speech as satisfactory to the minority as he could well make it. In the excitement caused by this speech the resolutions came up for action. Mr. Palfrey moved as an amendment, "that the Whigs of Massachusetts, will support no man for the offices of President or Vice President, but those who are known by their acts or declared opinions to be opposed to the extension of Slavery." This amendment Mr. Winthrop opposed on the ground, that the Whig Party might have to choose between an extension candidate and defeat! This action on his part, secured him the Speaker's Chair, by the acknowledgment of Mr. Holmes, of Charleston, S. C., who, by declining to vote, decided that contest. The amendment, however, was pronounced to be lost, by a very doubtful vote, and then the resolutions, concluding with the recommendation of Mr. Webster, passed without opposition. Thus anomalous is the position of the Whigs of Massachusetts, that while they denounce the War and its objects, in the strongest terms, and select as their candidate a man who had just committed himself in the fullest manner to the same opinions, they refuse to engage to be faithful to their opinions, and their choice, when they come to be submitted to the ordeal of a National Convention.

The history of the Third Political Party, during the last year, deserves a passing notice, since it is probable that this will be the last time that we shall have occasion to mention it. Early in the summer, a Convention was held at Macedon Lock, N. Y., composed of persons usually acting with the Third Party, who erected themselves into a Fourth, by the style and title of the Liberty League. This organization distinguished itself from that from which it was a secession, by the addition of *eighteen* articles to the *one* which constituted the creed of the latter. It nominated Messrs. Gerrit Smith and Elihu Burritt as its candidates for the Presidency, and Vice Presidency, and took such measures as seemed best to it to secure their election. It rested upon the perception of the philosophical absurdity of attempting to build up a political party to success, upon a single idea. Its fallacy lay in proposing to build one up upon *nineteen*. Whereas, no political party can hope for, or should obtain, political success,

except through the confidence of the people, whether well or ill-placed, that it will provide for *all* the public interests.

In October, a Convention of the "Liberty" Party was held at Buffalo, for the nomination of Candidates. The leaders of the Liberty League were in attendance for the purpose of procuring, if possible, the adoption of their candidates and creed, by the Convention. The Convention, however, showed that it was too weary of the impracticable position in which the Third Party had stood so long, to be disposed to exchange it for one quite as bad. Accordingly, it settled the matter by nominating the Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, the candidate of the Independent Democrats of his own State, and thus, virtually merging themselves in that Party. Mr. Hale had declined permitting himself to be made the nominee of the "Liberty" Party, until he was in the field as the candidate of the Independent Democrats. A considerable number in the Convention were in favor of making no nomination until the Great Parties had made theirs, in the belief that one or the other would furnish a candidate satisfactory to all Anti-Slavery voters. And the opinion was expressed by prominent men in the party, that this was the last Presidential Convention it would ever hold. In order to avoid a collision of sentiment with their candidate on the subject of the relations of the Constitution to Slavery, the Convention had the good sense to make no claim of an Anti-Slavery construction for that Instrument, and the Pro-Slavery character of its compromises was admitted in its resolutions and in the speeches of conspicuous members, who had long maintained the opposite absurdity of doctrine.

The political demonstrations in the State of New York, within this year, have been of a new and encouraging aspect. The Mass Convention at Herkimer, by a portion of the Democratic Party, to pass censure upon the Pro-Slavery servility of the Regular Democratic Convention at Syracuse, was a hopeful sign of a recuperative element in the constitution of the popular mind, which had lain dormant so long that its very existence was a matter of doubt.

At the Syracuse Convention, the great State Democratic Convention for nominations, the following resolution was proposed for adoption: —

*"Resolved, That while the Democracy of New York, represented in this Convention, will adhere to all the compromises of the Constitution and maintain all the reserved rights of the State, they declare—since the crisis has arrived when that question must be met—their uncompromising hostility to the extension of Slavery into territory now free, which may be hereafter acquired, by any action of the Government of the United States."*

This resolution being refused a hearing, or at least a discussion, and that in a most insolent and tyrannical manner, this Mass Convention was called to meet at Herkimer, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the Democratic Party of New York, on this subject. It was summoned by no mean names in the Democratic ranks. C. C. Cambreleng, John Van Buren, and D. D. Field, were no cyphers, in themselves, and they stood for much more than they expressed, in their own proper persons.

The number of delegates was estimated at from *three to four thousand*. The rejected resolution was reiterated, adopted, and proclaimed as "an inseparable element" of the true Democratic Creed. The Convention went further. It declared that "the declared determination of no inconsiderable portion of our fellow Democrats at the South to refuse to go into a General Convention, for the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency, except upon condition that opposition to the extension of Slavery into new Territories be abandoned, and to refuse their suffrages to candidates to office who do not concur in such extension, makes it necessary for the Democracy of New York to declare that, if such determination is persisted in, and becomes general, they will be obliged to adopt a counter declaration, and to proclaim their determination to vote for no man, under any circumstances, who does not subscribe to the preceding resolution; and we recommend our fellow Democrats to prepare for such an emergency." If this resolution be carried into effect, it will be one of the most memorable expressions of opinion in our history. If the powerful division of the Democracy of New York, represented at the Herkimer Convention, really refuses to vote for an Extension Candidate, should such an one be set up by the Party, (as unquestionably will be done,) and acts for Northern interests rather than for partizan supremacy, it will be a divid-

ing wedge of no mean momentum to widen the breach, already opened, between North and South.

The grossly Pro-Slavery character of the political parties is proved by the necessity which it creates for these demonstrations, on the part of the Young Whigs of Massachusetts, of the Independent Democrats of New Hampshire, and the Anti-Extension Democrats of New York. They are of necessity Pro-Slavery, as long as they claim, as parties, a national character. The existence of Slavery in more than half of the States of the Union, and the concentration of all the political power of these States in the hands of a compact and intelligent body of Slaveholders, makes Compromise an essential element of any National Party. And compromise is, necessarily, the triumph of the weaker and the worser part. So it is vain and absurd to expect any sustained and consistent Anti-Slavery action from any party that looks for success in cöoperation with Slaveholders.

The Herkimer Convention did not nominate candidates in opposition to those set up by the Syracuse Convention. It merely met to express the sense of New York Democracy in this especial matter. The Young Democracy of New York are yet in the infantile state of our own Young Whigs, who voted for Mr. Briggs, after all their reclamations. They do not, either of them, feel able to go alone as yet. We think they both made a mistake, for their own political prospects. The Young Whigs only wanted *pluck* to have had the control of Massachusetts, just as the Independent Democrats had of New Hampshire, and will have again. That section of the Democracy of New Hampshire, by throwing away the scabbard when they drew the sword, placed Mr. Hale in the Senate and Mr. Tuck in the House; and by a union with the Whigs will undoubtedly again carry the State.

But all these things are signs of somewhat yet to be revealed. A Northern Party is unquestionably at hand. Like the sects of Jerusalem, the jarring parties at the North will yet unite and present a formidable front to the common enemy. The recent merging of the Third Party, in its National Organization, (if it can be said to have had such,) in the Independent Democratic Party, is another sign. It had already done this in New Hamp-



shire, and has now had the good sense virtually to abandon its absurd and impracticable position, and to identify itself with a segment of one of the ruling parties. The Whigs of New Hampshire have shown themselves willing to waive minor differences, and unite with Mr. Hale and his friends, on the ground of opposition to Slavery and Slave-extension. This will be the *modus operandi* elsewhere. There is Anti-Slavery spirit enough in the Free States to create a formidable, if not a predominant party. All that is needed is men of personal integrity and moral courage to take the lead. We think the emergency will soon arise, if it have not arisen already, to call them forth.

#### THE CHURCH.

The American Church, during the past year, has done nothing to change its character as the Bulwark of American Slavery. The blessing of the Church has still been bestowed upon this enemy of human souls, the waters of baptism have been poured upon its brow, the consecrated elements imparted to it in the fellowship of Christian brotherhood. A gentle breathing of disapprobation is all that has sometimes been suffered to escape from ecclesiastical bodies, compelled to action of some sort, by the importunity of some impracticable member. But in no case has "the sum of all villainies" been recognized as a deadly sin, the commission of which must separate the criminal party from the communion of Saints, until purged by penitence and reformation. The American Church is still the Sanctuary of Slavery,—the City of Refuge to which it may fly from before the Avenger of the Blood of the Innocent, and be safe. The World, the Parties, Political Presses, General Courts, and Congresses, are in advance of the Church, the Sects, the Religious Press, the Conference, the Assembly, and the Convention, in moral sensibility to perceive, and in moral courage to expose, the crafty cruelty of this trampler on human hearts.

To give a minute detail of the ecclesiastical action and inaction, during this year, would be to recite the history of almost every Ecclesiastical Assembly, large and small, that has gathered itself together within our borders. Wherever the Sons of God have been gathered together, thither has this Satan come

likewise. And the principal business of the holy Convocations has seemed to be, to shut their eyes to the fact of his presence, or to prove that he might be, after all, an Angel of Light. A cursory glance at a very few of these demonstrations is all that we have time to attempt. The American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance held a meeting at New York, in the course of the Spring or Summer, at which several days were devoted to an attempt to discover some compromise whereby God and the Devil might be made to be at one. The pledge which the American brethren, at the London Convention, had made, that they would form an Alliance at home free from Slaveholding contamination, (although the convenient memories of some of those present on the two occasions could not recal any such engagement,) making some action on this subject inevitable, the following proposition was embodied among the purposes of the Alliance, as expressive of its views and purposes.

"Inasmuch as the peculiar circumstances of this country seem to demand an expression of sentiment on the subject of Slavery, this Alliance declares that a discrimination is to be made between those who hold Slaves, not by their own fault, or for the sake of their own advantage, but from motives entirely benevolent, and those who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage for the sake of gain; and that the former are to be regarded as entitled to fellowship, while the latter cannot be received as members of the Alliance."

To this proposition several amendments were proposed, some for the better and some for the worse. It was observable, that the member of the Convention who showed the most honest abhorrence of Slavery and the greatest willingness to shut it out from Christian fellowship, was also its only lay member, the President of the Convention, Chief Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey. This gentleman exposed the fallacy of the assertion, that any body, in any State, could be compelled by law to hold men as Slaves, and declared his readiness to exclude Slaveholders from the Alliance. He, however, in common with most of his associates, seemed glad of any way of escape whereby they might avoid taking any action upon the subject. The matter was finally disposed of in the following shape, with but a single dissenting vote, that of the Rev. Mr. Cheney.

"That while the Evangelical Alliance admits into its bosom

such persons only as are respectable members of Evangelical Churches, we are nevertheless persuaded that the great object of the Association,—the promotion of a larger Christian Union, may be furthered by a frank expression of our sentiments on the subject of Slavery. We therefore declare our deep and unalterable opposition to this stupendous evil, and we hold it to be the duty of all men, by all wise and Christian means, to seek its entire extirpation and removal from the land. Still, the one object of the Alliance shall be kept steadily in view, which is the promotion of Christian Union and Brotherly Love."

This proposition was one in which most Slaveholding Churches could unite. "A stupendous evil" is by no means necessarily a sin. And as long as every Church and Church-member was left to decide what were "wise and Christian means" to be used for its extirpation, the smallest possible ground for quarrel was left to the Slaveholding brethren. The meeting was a very small one, and its proceedings excited but little general interest, in the Church, or out of it. So that it is apparent that the Alliance in America, as well as in England, perished in its desperate attempt to save harmless the Christian character of Man-stealing.

A new attempt to create a false issue has been made, recently, under the specious pretence of inculcating the duty of furnishing the Slaves with Bibles! When the eyes of Christendom and Civilization is fixed with indignant contempt on the American Church, for its conspiracy with the master to strip the Slave of his every right, she attempts to convert it into a smile of admiration, by a parade of their zeal for saving the souls of the Slaves by the distribution of the Word of God among them. And this in the face of the fact that the Slaves are denied by law, in many of the Slave States, and by public opinion and want of opportunity (with rare exceptions) in the rest, to learn to read at all! Truly did the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its Annual Meeting, describe the project to be as absurd as one for furnishing all the Blind in the country with telescopes and spectacles! This fair opportunity, however, of throwing holy dust in the eyes of the people, was not neglected. The General Associations of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and other ecclesiastical bodies, expressed their warm approbation of the plan. The real spirit of the first of these bodies, at least, may be gathered from

its rejection, by a unanimous vote, of a preamble and resolution, introduced by the Rev. William B. Stone, to the following effect.

"That inasmuch as there were Slaveholders connected with both the Old and New School Branches of the Presbyterian Church, and this General Association maintained a friendly correspondence with the General Assemblies of that Church, this Body was consequently involved in the guilt of upholding Slavery by such fellowship; therefore,

*Resolved*, That our correspondence with both these Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church cease with the close of this meeting, and that we invite a Correspondence with that Branch of the Presbyterian Church recently organized on *Anti-Slavery Principles*.

The Covenanters, almost alone, of all the American sects, maintain a consistent and undeviating testimony against Slavery; and they have reiterated their words of witness this year, as in years gone by. The Free-Will Baptists have also, by a Protest, signed by a great number of their ministers, uplifted their voices against this crying iniquity, and proclaimed their determination to labor for its overthrow. And, while upon this point, it gives us much pleasure to mention the rare, the almost unique, example of a British Clergyman, visiting America on an ecclesiastical mission, and maintaining a faithful and uncompromising testimony against Slavery. This was the Rev. Dr. Jabez Burns, who visited the Baptist Churches, in this Country, and we believe, maintained the integrity of British Abolitionism amidst the Pro-Slavery influences of our religious atmosphere.

Slavery, as usual, intruded its hideous visage into the Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, held at Buffalo, in September. The dexterity with which it was covered up and passed by, was edifying and illustrative of character. Slavery would make its appearance, for there it was in the midst of them, but this seems hardly to have been lamented, so great was the complacency and devout gratitude which the skilful legerdemain which disposed of it, excited in all pious minds. The Report of the Meeting says that "the subject of Slavery, the only subject that anybody feared would interrupt its harmony, was, without difficulty, satisfactorily disposed of." This satisfactory disposition consisted of the following action.

"Chancellor Walworth, from the Business Committee, to whom was referred the subject of the relations of the Board to Slavery in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations, reported that 'it is inexpedient that the attention of the Board should be occupied with the discussion of that subject at the present meeting,' — Mr. Greene, the Secretary, who has charge of the Indian correspondence, being absent on account of ill-health, and he alone can make the necessary explanations. The Prudential Committee are intending to send Mr. Greene to visit during the year the missions among the Indians, and he will be prepared at the next meeting to make all the explanations required. This report was adopted."

One would think that the only explanation needed was, whether or not Slaveholding converts were admitted to those Mission Churches. If it were not denied that such is the case, it is difficult to see why it was inexpedient to attend to the matter at once, or how any visit of Mr. Greene to those Missions could affect the necessity of action on the part of the Board.

Would this be the conduct of the Board, had its members any adequate sense of the "exceeding sinfulness" of this sin? Suppose, instead of its being the wealthiest class of converts (as these Slaveholders, of course, are) that was in question for the gentlemanlike peccadillo of holding Slaves, it had been another description of sinners that called for dealings. Suppose the Missionaries had been in the habit of admitting to their Churches a class of Indians whose business it was to steal "horses, negroes and other cattle" from the adjoining Slave territory, and that the voice of remonstrance had come up from the white Slaveholding Christians, thus annoyed; would the Board have refused again and again to take action in the premises, and, at last have directed their remedies through the very men who had brought scandal upon the Church and the Cause? We trow not. In such case we apprehend the first step would have been, to recall the offending Missionaries, as men unfit for the trust they had undertaken; and the next, to replace them by others with instructions to excommunicate all persisting in this sin, as fast as the necessary steps could be taken, and to refuse admission to any applicants who had not put it far from them. This, and this only, would have shown that the Board were in earnest in their purpose, and sincere in their abhorrence of the crime thus consecrated.

We do not believe that the Board can come gracefully or creditably, out of this dilemma. It is a satisfaction to see that they are driven into it. It looks as if the power behind the throne, the power that furnishes the supplies, were better, as well as stronger, than the throne itself. We shall not be surprised if in due time, instructions should be issued to the Missionaries on the Polygamy Stations "to do what they can to induce their members" to have but one wife; and "to adopt such measures and impart such instructions as will result in removing" the scandal of this superfluity from those Mission Churches. And, perhaps, the Rev. David Greene may be despatched to visit those stations and to make "the necessary explanations," on his return. We shall sympathize in the pain such radical measures may give to the learned and pious Chancellor Walworth, and to the Rev. Dr. Taylor, the head of New Haven Theology; but we fear they will have to make up their minds to it.

It is an observable fact, taken in connection with this action, that the receipts of the Board fell short, during the past year, of the Expenditures by about FIFTY-THREE THOUSAND dollars! A variety of reasons were given for this state of things; but none, we apprehend, that touched the root of the matter. For the two last years the receipts were from TWENTY-FIVE to THIRTY THOUSAND dollars less than for either of the years '44 and '45. The matters of Slavery and Polygamy have been especially agitated within those two years; and we cannot but think that this falling off is to be largely accounted for, on account of dissatisfaction with the outrageous conduct of the Board in these respects. The concession, such as it was, that was made on the Slavery Question, is a sign, as we look upon it, that this element was recognized. From all which we are encouraged to hope, that the Congregational Masses are growing to look into these matters for themselves, and to question the wisdom of the complete reliance which they have reposed in time past in the Board. That an effort will be made that will remove their present embarrassments, is very likely. But we cannot forbear to hope that the *prestige* is broken, and that it can never be recovered. That the people are gradually learning to see that a religion which is made to cover up the most horrible of cruelties, and the most

flagitious of vices, is a gift which blesses neither them that give nor them that receive. The true Missionary Ground is *here*. The American Board is the first field for our St. Francis Xaviers and our St. Vincent de Pauls to occupy. When they, and those they lead, are converted to the Christianity of Christ, it will be time enough to turn to the Gentiles.

It is an incontrovertible evidence of the progress made by the Anti-Slavery Movement, in this country, that almost every religious Denomination, great and small, is earnest to vindicate its claim to the Anti-Slavery name. The great Methodist and Presbyterian Bodies have had the tie that united them into one National Organization, severed, as at the touch of fire, by a scarcely appreciable application of Anti-Slavery Truth. The same fate, unquestionably, awaits the Great National Baptist Denomination. The Unitarians, the Universalists and the Free-Will Baptists have uttered their Protests against Slavery, by the mouths of many of their ministers. The great Fact of American Slavery, the greatest as well as the vilest Fact on this Continent has obtruded itself upon their presence and demanded a recognition of its existence, of its character, and of their duties towards it. These are signs of the times of no mean significance.

Their significance is two-fold. They show that the Agitation of the subject of Slavery, so much deprecated by priests and politicians, has reached the hearts of multitudes in the bosoms of the various sects, who demand ecclesiastical action of some sort for the purification of their Churches. And they also show that such a degree of general attention has been extorted to the miseries of the most helpless class of our countrymen, by the unwelcome importunity of the Abolitionists, that no sect at all popular in its composition, or progressive in its tendencies or pretensions, can refuse to look at this hideous Evil and to speak a word, at least, of abhorrence of it. These manifestations are the resultants of two forces, one acting upon the Sects from within, and the other from without. Both of these forces owe their generation, their application or their direction to the perpetual motive-power of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, — that Enterprise which sprung into being, when its day was come, as the necessary antagonist of Slavery, and which can never die until Slavery ceases to exist.

## THE CRIME.

This guilty people are forever in the presence of their National Crime. Though the Church bless, and the State foster it, it casts its cold black shadow on the Nation's heart and conscience. Let priests and politicians disguise it as they will, the Grim Feature will obtrude its deformity between us and the sunshine of our glory and our prosperity. In vain do men endeavor to shut their eyes to this importunate fact, it is daily and hourly forcing itself upon their notice. It is reverberated in the din of arms that returns to us from the table-lands of Mexico, we feel it in the harassing variations of policy that perplex our industry and impede our prosperity, we see it in the liturgy that the Church is obliged to perform in its honor, we discern it in the prostrations which our Statesmen have to make at its footstool. We see it reflected in the looks of scorn which are cast upon us from the monarchical shore of the Atlantic. It glares upon us from amid the ruins of our experiment of Free Institutions which it has shattered, from the desecration of our historic memories which it has defiled, from the degradation of our National name and National honor which it has trampled in the dust.

Other nations have had, and have their National Crimes, but none of such enormity, or perpetrated with such a calm deliberation of guilt. Our fathers made Slavery a part of their National Institutions in cold blood, and after intelligent discussion. We consent to retain it, because we shrink from the personal inconvenience that may peradventure befall ourselves were we to put it away from us. Should justice be done, we fear lest the Heavens should fall. No Crime was ever before thus adopted and retained among the institutions of any people, intelligently, deliberately, definitively. The time was, when the People of the Free States had it in their election whether or not they would take Slavery under the protection of the National Arm. Had they said the true word, and the word which true spirits would have had them say, Slavery would have perished, or have dragged out a precarious existence within the domain that it lays waste. But the North took the young serpent to her bosom,



and now she marvels that, warmed by her vital heat and batten-  
ing upon the blood it has drawn from her heart, that it is grown  
into a dragon that threatens to devour her and her children.  
The union of these States was founded in selfish cowardice.  
In hopes of escaping from the ills they had, and those they  
feared, our fathers flew to others that they hoped might be  
turned to blessings, but which have revealed themselves in the  
shape of unmitigated curses.

Standing where we stand, and reading the history of the past  
in the light of our own experience, how plainly do we perceive  
the folly which proposed to weld into a homogeneous Union  
parts essentially, and of their own nature, discordant! How  
clearly can we see the philosophical absurdity of men seeking  
to secure their own rights by consenting to assist at the sacrifice  
of those of others! For we see the wreck which these conces-  
sions have made of the character, the spirit, the honor of the  
Nation. From the moment of that consent, Slavery has been  
the absolute Sovereign of the Nation. Armed in the strength  
of that Conspiracy against Human Rights, called the Constitu-  
tion of the United States, it has lorded it equally over the personal  
rights of the Slave and the political rights of the nominally Free.  
It has enlarged the bounds of its domain at its pleasure, it has  
shut up the ports of our commerce, it has plunged us into  
bloody wars, it has dictated and changed the national policy for  
our punishment, it has made our Presidents and our laws, and it  
rules us with a rod of iron. Happy would it have been for us  
had the original Crime never been perpetrated! Had our  
fathers but refused the price for the boon, and permitted the old  
confederation to fall into the divisions which nature and affinity  
would have pointed out, instead of attempting to unite the in-  
congruous parts into one whole, what a load of guilt, what a  
penalty of degradation would they not have saved to us, their  
sons! How would the religion of the land have been saved from  
disgrace! How would its politics have been compatible with  
honor and conscience! What an example would they have  
exhibited to the world, instead of the warning they are now!  
How would they have completed the work of their Revolution,  
instead of leaving a heritage of more deadly conflict for human  
rights to their sons!

## THE PUNISHMENT.

In describing the Crime have we indicated the Punishment. Never did Cause and Consequence follow each other more closely than has the Penalty trod in the footsteps of our National Guilt. It has made our Religion a mockery, our Republicanism a by-word, our Name a disgrace. It has made the American people mean and compromising, and set its brand upon their souls. It has quenched their spirit and made them prompt to bow their neck to any yoke that Slavery proposes to impose. It has mocked them with an arbitrary government under the forms of a Free one. It has made us stand up in the presence of the Mother Country a living witness of the failure of our attempt at Free Government, to make which, we burst the tie that bound us to her. For we find that we have placed our new Institutions on a less popular basis than her own.

It sounds paradoxical, but it is true, to say that the voice of the people of England is more potential for national reformations than that of America. There is, in effect, but *one* political power in the British Empire; and that is the House of Commons. King and Lords are merely drags upon the machine of State. They may retard its motion for a while, but they can never *block* it entirely. Both know that when a sufficient head of popular steam is on, they must get off the track, or be crushed to atoms. The King is in the hands of the Commons, and the Lords are in the hands of the King. The power of the Purse controls the power of the Sword. The perennial quality of the Fountain of Honor keeps the streams that flow from it in check. The King cannot move hand or foot without the permission of his "faithful Commons." And the Lords know that the unlimited prerogative of Creation will make the dignity of the Peerage dirt-cheap, if their resistance to necessary change be pushed to its utmost theoretical extent. The King has a Constitutional Veto; but it has not been used for a hundred and fifty years. The House of Lords have a legislative power coördinate with the House of Commons; but the day is long past since they dared to interpose their negative between the deliberate will of the people and its legislative accomplishment.

In the national Polity of America, too, there is but *one* power; and that is **THE SLAVE POWER**. The Constitution of England is, in effect, a democracy under the forms of a monarchy and hereditary aristocracy. Ours, on the other hand, is an hereditary aristocracy of the closest and the vilest nature, under the forms of an unlimited democracy. We have so contrived and managed our institutions that an hereditary oligarchy, founded on property in human beings, has a complete and absolute check on the whole machine; besides the incidental, but controlling, power which its union on all important subjects enables it to exert in their decision. The actual number of *voting* Slaveholders (deducting women, minors and absentees) is not much more than **ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND**, certainly not more than **A HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND**, and yet they possess, in consequence of their ownership of human souls, a clear majority of **FOUR** members in the Senate of the United States! This body is a branch of the National Legislature coördinate with the House of Representatives; it can originate and negative bills; it has a veto on every nomination to office from the highest to the lowest; and it is an essential element of the treaty-making power. The House of Lords never possessed, in its palmiest days, power comparable to that of the Senate. Its number cannot be increased except by the admission of new States; and as to *this*, it has an absolute veto. The members sit for six years, and for that time are independent of all mortal control. The Slaveholding element is thus the governing principle of the nation; for it has the power of blocking the wheels of government, through its majority in the Senate, as effectually as the Commons those of the English government. There has been no such oligarchy in modern times as that formed by the Slaveholding majority of the United States' Senate. None, at least, since Venice

"Sunk, like a sea-weed, into whence she rose!"

This forms the great distinction between the English and the American Polity, and accounts for the different results that flow from them. The English Constitution has an elasticity which enables it to adapt itself to every new state of things. The King and the Lords must be conservatives or reformers accord-

ing as the general will of the nation dictates. The Prime Minister is merely the Palinurus of the Ship of State — 'the pilot that weathers the storm' — not the Deity that rouses the tempest and rules the waves. Thus, when in 1841 the people of England, tired of the inefficiency and 'finality' of the Whigs, made Sir Robert Peel Premier, it was fondly thought that a Tory Ministry was established. But, lo! it was not long before he found that it was only by becoming more Whiggish than the Whigs, and almost as Radical as the Radicals, that the ship could be sailed. And so a Protectionist Parliament was compelled to lay infanticidal hands on the policy of Protection.

The American Constitution, on the other hand, has no elasticity in its nature. The Slaveholding element, which it has made supreme, never yields, but is ever encroaching. It is politically omnipotent, and, of course, will act its pleasure. No political pressure from without can modify its action, as long as such pressure must be directed according to that same Constitution which gives it its despotic power. The only hope of Freedom is, that its very unyieldingness may, in process of events, break the machine in pieces; so that a wiser scheme of government may be constructed out of the ruins, and with the experience, of the original failure.

## THE REMEDY.

Such is the crime, and such the punishment, of the American Nation. For the punishment there is but one Remedy, and that is only to be found in the abandonment of the crime. Until we are ready to put the wickedness away from us, we must expect to submit to the penalty. The doom of man is not to be reversed for us. As we have planted so must we reap. Full measure, pressed down and running over, must the harvest of our sowing be poured into our bosoms. Repentance and reformation alone, can bring us the better harvest of a better life. To guide this wicked nation into the ways of pleasantness and prosperity, and to tell her of the things that pertain to her peace, is the prophetic mission of the American Abolitionists. Clearly must they discern, and boldly must they proclaim the

truth and the way of this redemption. Like all who have ever accepted the ungrateful task of doing a nation good, they must be content with the reward which the beneficent attempt carries with it. The highest service that can be done to individuals or to nations, is to tell them of their sins, and to point out a way of escape. But it is a service that can scarcely look for the blessing or the gratitude of the admonished offender.

In proportion to the fidelity with which the American Abolitionists have done their duty in this matter, has a blessing waited upon them. Their success has been greater than their day, or their strength, had promised them. They have aroused the nation, they have awakened the church, they have made the people and the world aware of the omnipresence and omnipotence of Slavery, within the reach of its influences, as they never were before. The stertorous sleep of the State, and the fat slumbers of the Church, are broken forever. Never can either fold their arms and lie down in their former lethargy. The very vitality into which our agitation has aroused Slavery herself, is a seal of our apostleship. And in the Anti-Slavery spirit which we have created or fostered, in the Southern country, do we discern the proofs of an effectual ministry. Whether we look towards the North or the South, whether we regard the imperfect reachings after a reformation here, or the desperate fury of the masters and the longings of more generous spirits for a better state of things, there, we perceive that a Revolution is begun which must go on to a decisive result in favor of Liberty or of Slavery.

Though the Abolitionists, like other Prophets, are without honor in their own country, they stand already in the midst of the fulfilment of their own predictions. When their voice was first heard, like the Voice of One crying in the Wilderness, they discerned but a part of the Message of which they were to be the Apostles. But that part was despised and rejected of men, with scorn and violence. Men shut their eyes, and rushed blindly upon them, for enunciating and applying the simplest axioms of Liberty. But, even now, we perceive that the Stone which was thus rejected, is, by degrees, recognized as the true Head of the Corner. The Principles which the Abolitionists were mobbed

for disseminating in 1835, have now been proclaimed by the Legislatures of Sovereign States, and form the tie which connects together large minorities, to say the least, of the Great National Parties. And this, in spite of the vaticinations of the Prophets of ill, who foreboded nothing but mischief to the cause of Liberty in the Free States, from the agitation of the impracticable fanatics. So, in the South, it was declared that we had made the shadow go backwards on the dial of Emancipation, and had stopped the Sun of Freedom in his journey through their skies. This cry was re-echoed from the North, and was made the excuse of the cowardly and the time-serving, for not coming up to the help of the Lord against the Mighty.

Many are the accusations which are laid to the charge of the Abolitionists. They are visionary, fanatical, unscrupulous, incendiary, bitter, denunciatory, and impracticable. Their hand is against every man, and it is no marvel that every man's hand is against them. No prudent man is willing to be known as of their Assembly. Were it not for them, the Cause would long since have been taken up and carried forward by wiser and more influential men. Their agitation has been a hindrance, rather than a help, to the progress of the Anti-Slavery Sentiment. In reply to all this, we can only point to the state of the public mind before our Movement began and now; to indicate the monuments which we have set up to mark the rising of the tide of public sentiment; to show that we had successively occupied the several positions, once rejected of the Church and the World, but to which they have now reluctantly advanced. Whether they would have attained to their present point of progress had it not been for the going before of the Anti-Slavery Pioneers, we cannot say, nor are we careful to discover. It is sufficient for us to know, that we were led up to those lower heights by the same spirit which has conducted us to that serener elevation on which we now stand, and to believe that the general mind of the North may yet be led on to discern its only way of safety, by our assistance, or in our despite.

We have no infallibility to claim for the true American Abolitionists. Too often have they been deceived in their hopes, and mistaken in their confidence, to arrogate to themselves

such a character. Nor are we disposed to deny or to palliate their faults,—for they are neither few nor small. But though not infallible, we maintain that the several successive points upon which they have deliberately planted themselves, though scouted when first taken up, as absurd and impracticable, have been proved by experience, and by the acknowledgment of intelligent opponents of Slavery, to be impregnable. And though not without sin in the world, we do most unequivocally assert that they are but too free from the sins commonly laid to their charge. Visionary and impracticable they are not,—for they have pointed out, and now uphold, the only way of deliverance for the Slave, the masters being the witnesses. Unscrupulous we are not,—for, what manner of people in this land have proceeded to their conclusions so deliberately, and maintained them with such religious regard to the lawfulness of the means they used? Let our enemies answer. Incendiary we are not, unless it be the work of one to labor for the extinguishment of a conflagration that threatens to devour everything that is worth preserving. Bitter and denunciatory we are not,—for our plainest words have been informed only by the Spirit of Love, and looked only to the awakening of the Spirit of Repentance. And God knows, and we know, how far, how very far, have we ever been from a Spirit of Fanaticism. Alas! it is our shortcomings, and not our far-reachings, which it becomes us to confess and repent, before God and Man.

It is for a spirit of more earnest zeal, of a more self-sacrificing devotion, in the Cause of the Slave, that the Abolitionists have to seek. It is to put themselves, indeed, in his stead, and to feel in bonds as bound with him, as they have never yet done, that they most need. It is a higher appreciation of the privilege they enjoy in being permitted to take part in the only Movement of their time and Country, that will impress itself upon the destinies of millions yet to be, and be felt as long as time endures, and a more resolute purpose to live worthy of their calling, after which they should aspire. This is the Heroic Age,—if Heroes can be found to answer its demands. Mighty Events are at hand, even waiting at the door, if fitting Heralds appear to usher them into the Domain of History. Greatest

among these is the Deliverance of the American Slave from his chains, and of the American Freeman from his guilt. Twice blessed is it,—in its Advent, to the soul of the faithful Abolitionist,—in its Accomplishment, to the whole nature of the trampled Slave. Happy they who discern the blessed Present and the sublime Future of this great Vocation! Happier, who shall endure even to the end!





## TREASURER'S REPORT

*Of Receipts and Disbursements from January 1, 1847, to January 1, 1848.*

By Balance of Account rendered January 1, 1847,.....	\$849 10
" Cash of F. Jackson, proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair,.....	3,474 29
" " of Finance Committee for Collections at Annual Meeting,.....	902 84
" " from the Bequest of the late H. Chapman,.....	100 00
" " from Caroline Weston, proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair at New Bedford,...	380 50
" " from A. Brooke on account of sale of Books,.....	30 00
" " from Finance Committee for collections at N. E. Convention,.....	343 25
" " from collections by Agents, and donations from sundry persons, as published monthly in the Liberator,.....	1,394 28
<b>Total Amount of Receipts,.....</b>	<b>\$6,773 36</b>

*Disbursements as follows:*

Paid R. F. Walcutt for expenses of Depository.....	\$890 00
" per order of the Board to Treasurer of A. A. S. B., .....	3,664 00
" per order of the Board towards expenses of the Trial of Dr. Hudson,.....	75 00
" Office Rent, 21 Cornhill,.....	202 78
" Expenses of Faneuil Hall for Annual Meeting,.....	40 50
" Use of Melodeon for Annual Meeting,.....	35 00
" Use of Marlboro' Chapel Hall, four evenings, for S. S. Foster's Lectures,.....	90 00
" W. T. A. Society for use of Hall two evenings for do.,.....	16 00
" Printing and posting handbills,.....	8 25
" Sundry advertising bills for Annual Meeting and Lectures,.....	94 76
" Reporting speeches at Annual Meeting,.....	15 00
" Sundry bills for expenses of Fair,.....	65 50
" per order of Board to Mrs. Frederick Douglass,.....	90 00
" for paper and printing Annual Report,.....	90 00
" Printing Circulars,.....	6 00
" Harnden & Co. for transportation sundry packages,.....	6 45
" Expenses of Pic Nic at Waltham,.....	41 97
" "           Dorchester,.....	96 00
" "         New England A. S. Convention,.....	164 36
" Dow & Jackson's bill printing,.....	8 50
" Addison Davis for Services as Lecturing Agent,.....	183 80
" Parker Pillsbury "      "      " ..... " S. S. Foster, "          "          " ..... " Wm. W. Brown, "        "        " .....	537 37 102 22 386 85
" Samuel May, Jr. do. as General Agent,.....	470 98
" Loring Moody do. as Financial Agent,.....	345 76
Total Amount of Disbursements,.....	\$6,466 78
Balance in Treasury, January 1, 1848, .....	\$306 58

6.773 36

**E. E.**

**S. PHILBRICK, TREASURER.**

**BOSTON, January 16, 1848.**

I have examined the foregoing account from January 18, 1847, to the present time, and find it to be correct and properly vouched. Balance in the Treasurer's hands being three hundred and six dollars, fifty-eight cents.

EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.

**EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.**



## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

### VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
NATHANIEL B. BORDEN, Fall River,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge,	CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	ZENAS RHOADES, New Marlboro',
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	BENJAMIN SNOW, Fitchburg,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester,	CYRUS PIERCE, Newton,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	THOMAS T. STONE, Salem,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	CHARLES L. REMOND, Salem,
NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,	CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston.

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALCUTT, Boston.

### TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

### AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

### COUNSELLORS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE WARREN WESTON,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
JOHN M. SPEAR,	CHARLES K. WHIFFLE,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.	SAMUEL MAY, JR.



# APPENDIX.

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## SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This Annual Meeting commenced in Boston, on Wednesday morning, Jan. 26, at the Melodeon.

The Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at half past ten o'clock, A. M.; and it was voted, that the Society do now proceed to business.

Opportunity for prayer being given, prayer was offered by John M. Spear.

*Voted*, That SAMUEL MAY, Jr. and ANNE W. WESTON be Assistant Secretaries during the Annual Meeting.

The following persons, on motion of EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham, were nominated and accepted by the Society as a Committee of Business:—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, HENRY C. WRIGHT, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, CAROLINE WESTON, STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

Subsequently, on motion of H. C. WRIGHT, DANIEL RICKETSON, of New Bedford, and W. H. FISH, of Hopedale, were added to the Business Committee.

The following persons, on motion of S. MAY, Jr., were nominated and chosen a Committee on the Roll and Finance:—

LORING MOODY, JAMES N. BUFFUM, JOHN M. SPEAR, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, JOHN M. FISK.

On motion of SAMUEL PHILBRICK, of Brookline, *Voted*, That a Committee of one from each County be nominated by the Chair, as a Committee to nominate a list of Officers of the Society for the present year.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK presented his Report, as Treasurer of the Society, for the past year; which, having been audited, was unanimously accepted by the Society. This Report will be found in another place.

The President nominated the following as the Committee to nominate Officers of the Society, (with some vacancies to be filled afterwards,) and his nomination was accepted by the Society:—

EDMUND QUINCY, of Norfolk; JOHN T. HILTON, of Middlesex; JOHN M. FISK, of Worcester; CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, of Suffolk; JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Essex; DANIEL RICKETSON, of Bristol; HENRY H. BRIGHAM, of Plymouth; NATHANIEL BARNEY, of Nantucket.

*Voted*, On motion of G. W. STACY of Milford, that the Annual Report of the Board of Managers be now heard.

The President left the Chair, which was taken by CHARLES F. HOVEY, of Boston.

Copious extracts from said Report were then read by EDMUND QUINCY, Corresponding Secretary.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. gave notice that a copy of the petition to the Legislature, for secession from the Union, would be kept at the Secretaries' table for signatures, during the sessions of this meeting.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

1. — *Resolved*, That while we deeply regret that the Slave Power should have been able to find one of its most willing and useful tools in the Pilgrim blood of Massachusetts, we must still recognize one virtue in ROBERT C. WINTHROP, that, unlike his fellow Whigs, he has never been a hypocrite in politics; he has never pretended to own himself or claimed to be anything but the mouth-piece of Cotton, whether in State street or at the Capitol; he cannot be accused of getting office, like Mr. Briggs, under false pretences; neither, like the Hon. Mr. 'Facing-both-ways,' did he signalize his youth by thunders against Slavery on Plymouth Rock, and then, with the fame of many years upon his brow, say his prayers backward before the Capitol at Richmond; on the contrary, we are bound to allow, that he has always gloried in being a *Dough-face* from the beginning, at home and abroad, in every sphere, 'however bounded, and be the shame more or less,'—that he has not sought for his bargain the decent cover of secrecy, but his prostitution has been open, in the market-place, and he has worn its wages insolently and without shame; that to guard against suspicion of hypocrisy even in quoting Scripture, he took care to put on broad record, beforehand, in Faneuil Hall, a pledge to remind the world that in his case, at least, there were many things beside the Lord, 'which make men to be of one mind in a house.'

2. — *Resolved*, That our deep regret to find such a character linked

with the name of WINTHROP is forgotten in the sad reflection that, like wax beneath the seal, he is but what the schools and churches of Boston have made him, the faithful representative of the opinions of his native city; and that could we succeed in changing those opinions, the weathercocks upon our steeples would be laggards, compared with him, in shifting with the wind.

3. — *Resolved*, That the réelection of GEORGE N. BRIGES to office, with all the sins of his perjured and treasonable proclamation, places Massachusetts among the active supporters of the Mexican war; that not all the resolutions which even *her* Legislature has passed, or can pass, are able to hide that fact; and that if GEORGE N. BRIGES has, as his friends claim, repented of that disgraceful act, he should be as ready to make as public 'proclamation' of his repentance as he was of his servility — and not leave his friends to sacrifice character in supporting one convicted of treason out of his own mouth, with nothing to justify their confidence but chimney-corner confessions.

*Whereas*, The boast of the people of these United States is, that they are the *freest* people on earth, while they hold and use one-sixth of their fellow-countrymen as *Slaves*, — that they are an *enlightened* people, while they punish as a heavy crime, the acquisition of knowledge among three millions of their number, — that they are a *civilized* people, while one-sixth of the inhabitants are compelled, by law, to live in absolute *heathenism*, — that the blessings of liberty and free institutions are extended to all, while three millions of their number are outlawed, and hunted with bloodhounds and rifles, for attempting to raise themselves from the condition of *brutes* to that of *men* — from the condition of *Slaves* to that of *Freemen*; Therefore,

4. — *Resolved*, That this misnamed Republic is a *wilful liar and a shameless hypocrite*, against which the friends of freedom in Great Britain and throughout the world ought to be warned, as against the deadliest enemy of the human race.

*Voted*, On motion of EDMUND QUINCY, that the fourth Resolution, with its Preamble, be taken up for discussion.

HENRY C. WRIGHT briefly addressed the Society in support of the Resolution, and was followed by EDMUND QUINCY and STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

At one o'clock, on motion of HENRY C. WRIGHT, *Voted* to adjourn, to meet in the same place at half past two.

### WEDNESDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Society re-assembled, according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.



The resolution under discussion was again read, and was spoken to by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and Wm. W. BROWN, both in its support.

Leave being granted, the following Resolution was presented by S. MAY, Jr., and unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved*, That every friend to the Anti-Slavery cause here present, be requested to enrol his or her name as a member of this meeting, and also to give one dollar, or such other sum as is thought proper, towards defraying the expenses of this Annual meeting.

JOHN LEVY and H. H. BRIGHAM were added to the Committee on Finance and the Roll.

HENRY C. WRIGHT took the floor, in behalf of the Resolution; but gave way, after a few remarks, to

WILLIAM W. BROWN, who came forward again, he said, by request, to comment upon a letter lately received by Mr. QUINCY, from ENOCH PRICE, of St. Louis, Missouri, and which letter he [Mr. Brown] had now for the first time seen. The writer of it declared himself the *owner* of Wm. W. BROWN, said he had seen and read the Narrative, which Mr. B. has lately published, and which he admitted to be true in the main, and after setting forth several particulars as to the manner in which he became possessed of W. W. BROWN, (then known by another name,) offered to give him *free papers*, if he or his friends would pay to his *Agent in Boston*, the sum of three hundred and twenty-five dollars. Mr. BROWN said, I have always felt that I ran a great risk in passing around here, as I do, in Massachusetts; and now I am more than ever sensible of the risk I run; for in an unguarded moment I may be seized upon, even here, and dragged back to Slavery in St. Louis. Mr. BROWN spoke with evident agitation. The audience expressed great sympathy with him, and by loud responses testified that there were many who would stand forth in his defence in any time of danger.

H. C. WRIGHT resumed the floor, and concluded his remarks on the fourth resolution.

He was followed by HENRY CLAPP, Jr., of Lynn, who said that he thought the time which the Society and many of its speakers occupied in showing the Pro-Slavery character of the United States Constitution and Laws was, for the most part, thrown away. It might be well enough to show this incidentally, but it was more important to rectify public sentiment.

Mr. CLAPP was replied to by J. C. CLUER, who vindicated the English, Irish, and Scotch mechanics and operatives from certain remarks of Mr. CLAPP.

Soon after five o'clock, the meeting adjourned, to assemble again, in FANEUIL HALL, at seven o'clock.

## WEDNESDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

Resolutions 1, 2, and 3, were again read by the Secretary, and the large audience present was eloquently addressed in their support, by EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, H. C. WRIGHT, WILLIAM W. BROWN, and STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

H. C. WRIGHT offered the following resolution :—

5.—*Resolved*, That while this Republic exists in its present form, as a Republic that sanctions Slavery, there can be no reasonable hope that the miseries and oppressions inflicted upon the masses, by the despotisms of Europe, can be removed ; inasmuch as the might of its example goes to strengthen the hands of tyrants, and to weaken those of the Champions of Freedom ; therefore we would earnestly entreat all who are laboring for the freedom of Man in Great Britain and Ireland, in Austria, Italy, Russia, and in all lands, to unite with us in our efforts to procure the dissolution of this Slaveholding Union, by a moral and peaceful agitation, and thus to rid the world of this gigantic foe of liberty, and of the inalienable rights of man.

At ten o'clock, P. M., adjourned to meet in the Melodeon, to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock.

NOTE.—Faneuil Hall was well filled during the evening, and by an audience exceedingly attentive, evidently much interested, and sympathizing heartily with the resolutions and speeches ; and scarce a dissenting voice or sound was heard during the entire evening.

## THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.—

The Society met again in the Melodeon, the President in the Chair.

The first four resolutions were read and unanimously adopted, the Society acting upon them separately.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER took the floor in behalf of the measure of going to the polls to vote for persons publicly pledged not to hold any office under the existing Constitution of the United States, if elected ; and offered a resolution on the subject.

*Voted*, To defer, for the present, the farther consideration of this subject.

The 5th Resolution was then called up, JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, being in the Chair, and spoken to by J. C. CLUER, H. CLAPP, Jr., R. B. ROGERS, Mr. PARKER, (late of London, now of Providence, R. L.) J. MCCOMBE, of Georgetown, LEVY, of Lawrence, WM. LLOYD GARRISON,

and a gentleman from Philadelphia, whose name was called for, but not given. After which, the fifth resolution was unanimously adopted. Adjourned to half past two o'clock.

#### THURSDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

HENRY WATSON, a fugitive from Slavery, addressed the Society in a brief narrative of some circumstances in his experience.

The following Resolution was then read by S. MAY, Jr., who moved its adoption.

6.—*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves to the cause and each other, to make every exertion, in our various towns and spheres, to rouse Abolitionists and Societies to their duty of contributing liberally to the Treasury of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies; and that we will endeavor to assemble the friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, in the several towns where we live, as soon as practicable, for the purpose of laying this subject before them, and devising effectual means of accomplishing the end in view.

This Resolution was supported by S. MAY, Jr., WENDELL PHILLIPS, HIRAM WILSON, of Canada West, J. N. BUFFUM, J. M. FISK, PARKER PILLSBURY, and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and was unanimously adopted.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported a list of names, which report was accepted, of persons as Officers of the Society, for the ensuing year. [This list will be found in another place.]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

7.—*Resolved*, That while we would express our deep gratitude to all those earnest men and women, who find time and strength, amid their labors in behalf of British Reform, to study, understand, and protest against American Slavery, to give us their sympathy and aid, by munificent contributions, and by holding our Union up to the contempt of Europe, we feel that it would not be invidious to mention WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT, HENRY VINCENT, and GEORGE THOMPSON, as those to whose untiring advocacy our cause is especially indebted in this country, as well as for the hold it has gained on the hearts of the British people.

8.—*Resolved*, That the discriminating sense of justice, the steadfast devotedness, the generous munificence, the untiring zeal, the industry, skill, taste, and genius, with which British Abolitionists have coöperated with us for the extinction of Slavery, command alike our gratitude and

admiration; cheering us under the discouragements, strengthening us under the difficulties, and consoling us in the afflictions of the Cause; and shall ever be to us both an incentive and an example in its sacrifices and its labors.

Remarks upon these resolutions were offered by S. S. FOSTER, W. L. GARRISON, E. QUINCY, D. RICKETSON, and W. PHILLIPS, after which they were adopted, without a dissenting voice.

At half past five o'clock, adjourned to hold the closing session in Faneuil Hall, at seven o'clock.

#### THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society met in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment, EDMUND QUINCY in the Chair.

WM. L. GARRISON, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions:—

9.—*Resolved*, That the Abolitionists of America hail with pleasure the movement of GEORGE THOMPSON and his faithful coadjutors, for the encouragement of the culture of cotton in British India, in order to supply the demand of that staple in the British manufactures, instead of importing their cotton, as at present, from the Slave States of this country; believing, as we do, that the success of his object will materially forward the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

10.—*Resolved*, That HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, in his late speech at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society at Washington, declaring that this country is only for the white, and not for the black man; that the free colored native-born inhabitants cannot and ought not to be admitted to equal rights and equality in the United States, but should be so trodden down as to render existence intolerable here, and banishment to Africa a desirable alternative—demonstrably proves that he is the deadly foe of impartial liberty—that his pretensions to philanthropy are hollow mockeries—and that the Colonization Society, of which he is the President, is the embodiment of the Slaveholding villainy of the South, and of the Pro-Slavery ruffianism of the North.

11.—*Resolved*, That this Society strongly sympathizes with the people of Ireland, and the lovers of progress throughout the world, in the deep sense they entertain of the services of DANIEL O'CONNELL, as a champion of human freedom, and especially as a friend of the African Slave; that we gratefully recognize the faithfulness of his emphatic testimony against American Slavery, of his indignant rebuke of American Slaveholders, and of his cordial coöperation with American Abolitionists; and that we regard with profound sensibility the event of his

death, which has occurred during the last year, as one in which we have a common interest with them, and with the whole human race.

12.—*Resolved*, That it becomes us, on this our first meeting since the venerable presence of SETH SPRAGUE has passed away from our assembly and from the earth, to recall to mind the clearness of vision, the purity of purpose, the fidelity of principle, the freshness of enthusiasm, which that Anti-Slavery Patriarch, the connecting link between the Elder and the Latter Dispensations of Liberty, brought to the assistance of the Slave; and to resolve that we will show what reverence and love we bear to his memory, by the earnestness of our endeavors to live worthily of his example.

13.—*Resolved*, That while we are willing to believe that many supporters of the Wilmot Proviso really consider its passage sufficient to prevent the extension of Slavery, and while we rejoice at every such effort, as evidence of awakening interest on the subject of Slavery, and tending, even in its very failure, to throw light on the path through which alone safety can be found; still we regard it as a matter of comparative indifference, whether that Proviso receives the sanction of Congress or not, feeling that the attempt to restrain Slavery by laws and constitutions is precisely equivalent to damming up the Mississippi with bulrushes, and that the man who expects anything but failure from such a plan, has still the A B C of his country's history to learn.

14.—*Resolved*, That an instrument which binds those who swear to support it to commit crimes of the blackest hue, and sins of the most tremendous magnitude, is one that cannot be intelligently sanctioned or executed without aggravated guilt, and ought to be rejected with indignation and horror:—that such an instrument is the Constitution of the United States, which pledges the whole physical force of the nation to keep securely in their chains three millions of Slaves, makes the entire national domains Slave-hunting ground, and provides for a Slaveholding Oligarchy, incomparably more despotic than any order of nobility ever existing in any age of the world.

15.—*Resolved*, That this is not a question that can be postponed or evaded, by any plea of policy or necessity; by the assertion that “the powers that be are ordained of God”; by the excuse that there must be a government; by any disastrous consequences that may be predicted to trade or property: it is a question of humanity—a question of morals—involving the highest responsibilities, and relating to our obedience to God, and our duties to each other.

The meeting was addressed on the different subjects embraced in these resolutions by Dr. GRANDIN, of Boston, WM. L. GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

NAHUM OSGOOD, of Salisbury, a member of the Liberty Party, then asked leave to take the platform, which was granted, and he addressed the meeting in defence of the nomination of JOHN P. HALE by the Liberty Party. He was much cheered by a delegation of his party which had just come from a meeting addressed by Mr. HALE.

WENDELL PHILLIPS again took the floor, in reply to Mr. Osgood, who afterwards rejoined, and was then followed by STEPHEN S. FOSTER, in a most searching exposition of the narrowness and illiberality of the so-called *Liberty Party*.

The Resolutions, which had been under discussion during the evening, were then taken up *seriatim*, and adopted.

The following Resolutions were prepared for presentation to the meeting, but were accidentally mislaid, and not found until after the final adjournment. Undoubtedly, if offered, they would have been adopted with great unanimity.

*Resolved*, That we receive with deep gratitude the Address of forty thousand Scottish women to the women of America, on the subject of Slavery; sensible of the vast amount of devoted labor requisite to embody so imposing a testimony—of the striking example it sets us to use with scrupulous fidelity all the means in our power for the emancipation of the Slave, and the rebuke given to our laggard zeal by the untiring interest of these noble women in the welfare of a race whom they have never seen.

*Resolved*, That we recognize, with cordial satisfaction, the sagacity of our colored friends in this city, and their correct appreciation of their own position, and the welfare of the Slave, in refusing to be made the tools of the Liberty Party on a late occasion.

*Resolved*, That we deplore the continued degradation of our national character and purpose which find their meet and most welcome representative and candidate for the nation's highest office in that bloodhound of the Texan war, ZACHARY TAYLOR.

*Resolved*, That while we accord to JOHN P. HALE full honor for his magnanimous opposition to Texan Annexation and the further extension of Slavery, and would not abate one title due him for his manly course in that matter, we feel bound to point out to those Abolitionists whom the plausible professions of the late Liberty Party have, in times past, been able to delude, the utter recreancy to Anti-Slavery character of a set of men who, with the claims of being an Abolition Party continually on their lips, hold up for their Presidential candidate a man who has never been willing to be known as an Abolitionist, and whose principles on the subject no one has yet thought it worth while to find out; and call upon them to mark, that the event we have always prophesied has come to pass, namely, that the party has bartered its

professions for votes, and sacrificed the only principle it ever claimed to have, to the availability of its candidate.

*Resolved*, That we rejoice in the firmness of purpose, integrity, and sincere devotion to his idea of Anti-Slavery duty, manifested by JOHN G. PALFREY, in refusing to put into the Speaker's Chair one whose course had been sedulously modelled to suit the Slaveholders.

*Resolved*, That the choice of ROBERT C. WINTHROP for Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, was a grave insult to the people of this Commonwealth; that, under the guise of respect for New England, his election was the triumph of South Carolina, cunningly seizing, as a tool for her own purposes, a man whose only title to preferment was treason to his birthplace, and whose only characteristic is unbounded servility to the insolent assumptions of the basest oligarchy that ever crept into power.

*Resolved*, That while we are rejoiced to perceive, (as indicative of the change which is taking place in public sentiment,) a growing religious sympathy with the Anti-Slavery movement, we are still under the painful necessity of proclaiming the deplorable fact, that the great body of the American clergy and churches are giving 'aid and comfort' to the Southern traffickers in human flesh, either by direct participation in Slavery, by religious fellowship with those who enslave their fellow-men, by using the pulpit and the press as potent weapons with which to assail Abolitionists, by silence and indifference, or by treating the question of emancipation as foreign to their calling;—a fact which proves their claims, as the true embodiment and genuine representatives of Christianity, to be utterly spurious.

*Voted*, On motion of HENRY C. WRIGHT, that the Society do now adjourn, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., }  
ANNE W. WESTON, } *Secretaries*.







SEVENTEENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

*Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,*

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 24, 1849.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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BOSTON:  
PRINTED BY ANDREWS & PRENTISS,  
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1849, July 23.

Gift of  
Rev. Converse Francis,  
Prof. in Harv. Univ.  
(H. U. 1815.)

# REPORT.

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A YEAR of marvels has intervened since we last stood before you to render an account of our stewardship. Events, new and startling, from their immediate results and from their remoter consequences, have hurried across the scene with a rapidity that has almost set History at nought. The whole fabric of society in the Old World has been shaken by the earthquake of revolution, and it is yet doubtful which of its elements will remain and which will lie shattered in hopeless ruin. The events which have thus shaken the Eastern Continent with their tread have made themselves felt even in the Western Hemisphere. These are not days when limits can be set to the reach of opinions, or the tide of ideas stayed by men or by institutions. The impulse which the mind of the civilized world has received and obeyed within the last twelve months in the direction of freedom, has not been unfelt or unheeded here. The tyrants of the Old World are not the only ones that have felt the instinct of their coming fate. Developments, new and unexpected, have changed the posture of affairs at home; and though the millions of American slaves are still in their chains, and their oppressors inspired with a more furious fanaticism than ever for the maintenance of their wrong supremacy, still it is a fanaticism which springs from fear, and is ominous of their coming doom. The complexity of materials with which we are yearly more and more oppressed, must compel a more cursory and perfunctory performance of the abridgment of the Anti-Slavery history of the past year, which is one of the duties you require at the hands of

your Board of Managers, than even those we have laid before you at former anniversaries. Craving your patience and indulgence, we will address ourselves to the task of describing the present position of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of our relations and duties in regard to it.

#### CONGRESS.

The history of the last session of Congress was full of instructive teachings. The presence of Slavery was seen and felt at every turn. It thrust itself into almost every debate; it compelled observation as it had never done before; the only public action that excited any public attention and interest, touched it and its accidents almost solely; the bravest words of Liberty and the most insolent vaporings of Slavery that have yet been uttered there, were then reverberated through the nation from the dome of the Capitol. Congress was made more than ever before, the Microcosm which represented the great American World. The spirit of the South was never more desperate or more wily, and it was met by an antagonist spirit from the North, such as has never yet opposed itself to its insolence and its aggressions. Never before was the truth that the politicians at Washington are moulded by the hands, and inspired by the breath of those that sent them thither, so clearly seen. For not only the few generous spirits who have always shown themselves ready to breast the waves of pro-slavery public sentiment, which threatened, at times, to devour them up, but many others who have shown no sympathy with their hostile attitude towards Slavery, have been obliged, reluctantly, to follow in their footsteps, through the pressure of the public feeling at home. Insufficient for the great deliverance of this country and age as is the Northern feeling against Slavery, and imperfect as are the results it has caused, we still accept the one and the other as auguries of better things to come.

The complexion of our public action at the seat of Government varied materially with the changing circumstances which environed it. The success of the national arms in our foray into Mexico, and the expectation, soon converted into certainty by the conditions of the extorted treaty, that broad lands lying nearer the sun than any we now possess, would be the spoils of

our victory, gave tone to the thought and the expression of the National Legislature. These domains became the battle-ground of the two antagonistic principles of the nation, each striving for the mastery of them. Congress was made, as it were, an arena of national debate upon Slavery. The arguments of the Abolitionists which had been scouted and mobbed in days not long past, in the cities and villages of the Free States, were urged and enforced with great force and clearness by eminent members of Congress, in the face of the nation and in the midst of Slavery itself. Mr. Giddings, Mr. Palfrey, Mr. Tuck, Mr. Mann, and other gentlemen, have made distinct and emphatic utterances on the subject of Slavery, showing that the strength of the Abolitionists has not been spent in vain, and that their voices have at last found an echo in the high places of the land.

Many occasions arose for testing the varying spirit of the Houses. A motion by Mr. Wilmot, to raise a direct tax of five millions annually, for the extinguishment of the Mexican War debt, was voted down by 143 to 44 — the Slaveholders going almost in a body against a measure which would oblige them to pay taxes on their Slaves towards the public burdens. Two applications for compensation for Slaves — one of a master, for a Slave who placed himself under the protection of the British flag during the War of 1812, and which was successful; and the other of a claimant of a Slave, who took sanctuary among the Seminoles, while hired by the United States as a guide to their troops, which is still before Congress; — these have both given rise to remonstrance and agitation, extending far beyond the walls of Congress. Mr. Putnam, of New York, proposed anew the substance of the Wilmot Proviso, excluding Slavery from all lands to be acquired from Mexico, and it was laid upon the table by a vote of 105 to 92! Mr. Hall, of New York, proposed the introduction of a bill forbidding the use of the courts or gaols of the District, for the return or detention of fugitive Slaves. It need hardly be said that it came to nought. Mr. Palfrey moved for an inquiry into threats which had been held out to members of Congress of Lynch Law if they continued their Anti-Slavery agitation, which gave Mr. Giddings an opportunity of making one of the most powerful and faithful Anti-Slavery speeches ever delivered in Congress. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, on the other hand, introduced a bill into the Senate, for the pro-



tection of the South against the Abolitionists, by which he erected every post-master and exciseman into a Court of Record, with authority to examine into claims to Slaves, and to issue warrants to the U. S. Marshals for the arrest of fugitives, and certificates to the claimants for their safe conduct back to Slavery, and imposing heavy penalties on all accessory to the crime of stolen liberty. This, indeed, did not become a law, but it helped, in common with the other attempts just recited, to keep the facts of Slavery before the eyes of the people, and to excite a sense of its universal bearings and national character.

But the topic which occupied the chief of the attention of Congress and of the nation, during the last session, was the character of the Territorial Governments to be extended to Oregon, California, and New Mexico. In the course of this discussion, new views of political rights and duties were broached. It had always been supposed that Congress had the absolute law-making power over the Territories, in the last resort. But when the interests or the credit of Slavery became complicated in the question, new lights of Constitutional and natural law dawned upon the world. It was first discovered that the people of the Territories alone could have power over a matter singly affecting themselves, and that Congress had no right to forbid the establishment of any institution they chose to adopt. But when symptoms, which could not be mistaken, were discerned, which showed that the people of Oregon were determined not to cast in their lot with the Slaveholders, a yet higher revelation was vouchsafed. It was discovered that not only Congress, but the Territorial inhabitants themselves had no voice in the matter! The Territories belonging, so it was argued, to all the inhabitants of the United States, any citizen had the right to carry thither his property, of any kind, and enjoy the same unmolested, and with none to make him afraid! The first of these positions was accepted by Mr. Cass, and the second by Mr. Woodbury, in their competition as bidders for the Democratic nomination. Thus confounding private property and State institutions, and claiming for the Slaveholders the privilege of carrying with them their State institutions; and thus virtually forbidding the inhabitants of the Free States from carrying with them their antagonist and incompatible institutions!

The question first coming up on the bill for establishing the Territorial Government of Oregon, and motions, pro and con, being made on the permission or the exclusion of Slavery, Mr. Calhoun distinguished himself by a speech of singular clearness and courage. He boldly denied the fundamental axiom of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created free and equal, and denounced it as "a dangerous error," from which the Anti-Slavery excitement had sprung, "which threatens to engulf our political institutions, and involve the country in countless woes!" He embodied the extreme Slaveholding doctrine in compact and concise statements, which made more clear than ever the irreconcilable antagonism of Slavery and Liberty, and the natural impossibility of the one existing in its completeness in a nation that tolerates the other. His speech had the rare merit, for an American speech, of straightforwardness and directness. Mr. Calhoun, indeed, is the very incarnation of the Slaveholding idea. He stands for an idea as no other statesman at Washington does. Even the best of his antagonists there represent but the fraction of an idea. An idea circumscribed by constitutions and compromises. He will leave his stamp upon his age as no other public man of his day will do. It will be a "bad eminence," indeed, that history will assign him, but it will be a conspicuous and an enduring one.

At last, an attempt was made in the Senate, to put this perplexing question at rest, by referring its settlement to a mixed committee, equally divided between the Free and the Slave States. The Slaveholding cunning, however, contrived that the equality should be confined to the numerical composition of the committee. Four of the strongest Slaveholders, with Mr. Calhoun at their head, were matched against four of the feeblest of the Northern men. By this committee a compromise was concocted, the character of which may be understood from its being satisfactory to the South. By its terms, Oregon was vouchsafed a government, with legislative powers which might be applied to the prohibition of Slavery, — unless negatived by the revising power of Congress. The legislative functionaries of New Mexico and California, however, were expressly forbidden to meddle with the matter of Slavery, at all. Thus the inhabitants of Oregon, a country whose physical character rendered the introduction of Slave labor an impossibility, were to be

allowed, if they pleased, to prohibit it; while the legislative authorities of the new Southern territory, for which the war with Mexico had been waged and fought, on account of the supposed adaptation of their lands for Slave culture, were forbidden to interfere with their settlement by Slaveholders, until they had acquired the control of the population and the government. And this was offered as a great sacrifice by the South to appease the fury of Northern fanaticism.

When this magnificent concession came up for action in the Senate, Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, moved the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment. It was rejected by a vote of 33 to 21. The Compromise Bill then passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 22. In the House, however, it was virtually rejected, a motion to lay it on the table being carried by a vote of 112 to 97. Contemporaneously with this action on the general principle of Slavery in the Territories, a bill for establishing the Territorial Government of Oregon, was before the House. It gave rise to much animated and excited discussion. A motion made by Mr. Palfrey, to strike out the word "white" from the qualifications of voters, gave rise to a brisk debate, but was, of course, negatived. The bill, embodying in its provisions the Wilmot Proviso, prohibiting the establishment of Slavery even after its erection into a State, was passed by the House, August 2nd, by a vote of 129 to 71. A previous motion to strike out the prohibitory clause, was voted down, 114 to 88. Upon this bill reaching the Senate, it created an intense excitement among the Slaveholding party. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Butler rallied the hosts of Slavery, and mourned over the indignities offered to the South. An insidious amendment applying the Ordinance of 1787, to Oregon, inasmuch as it lies to the North of the line of the Missouri Compromise, was insidiously proposed for the sake of excluding the inferential prohibition of Slavery in territories lying South of that line. This was resisted in the Senate by Mr. Webster, Mr. Hale, and others, and its treacherous purpose fully exposed. Nevertheless, it passed in the shape of a resolution extending the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean, by a vote of 33 to 21. This, of course, would have established Slavery as a National Institution, South of 36° 30', as effectually as was Freedom in the Northwestern Territory, by the Ordinance of 1787.

Upon the amended bill returning to the House, the amendment was rejected by a vote of 121 to 82,—all the Northern members but four\* voting against it, and all the Southern members but one (Mr. Houston, of Delaware,) voting in its favor. The reappearance of the bill with their amendment non-concurred, aroused anew the fire and fury of the Southern Senators. There was defection, however, in their ranks, sufficient to defeat their purpose, for this time. Mr. Benton, of Missouri, moved that the Senate recede from its amendment, and treated the threats of disunion of the Calhoun party, with supreme and cutting contempt. On the yeas and nays being taken, it appeared that the motion to recede was carried by a vote of 29 to 23,—Messrs. Benton, Houston, of Texas, and Sprague, of Delaware, voting for it. The bill thus unexpectedly carried, was signed by President Polk, who accompanied his signature with a message, saying that he did so only in consideration of the territory lying far to the North of 36° 30'. "*Had it,"* he said, "*embraced territories South of that Compromise, the question presented for my consideration, would have been of a far different character, and my action upon it, must have corresponded with my convictions!*"

It cannot be denied that this, the First Victory of the North over the South was the consequence of the growing Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North, and to the demonstrations which the Presidential obliquities of the two parties had called forth. For the first time, in our history, has the North arrayed itself in so unbroken a line against the South, on a point involving the interests of Slavery. For the first time, since we were a nation, was Slavery disappointed of a purpose she had at heart, and which she was determined to carry through. She has sometimes waited for a season, while the pear was ripening, but it has always been of her own mere notion, and with her own free consent. Whatever she has wished for she has had, and at the moment she was ready for it. She has met with her first reverse. The charm of unbroken success is at an end. Her vassals have made a stand against her aggressions. They are learning that the advantage is on their side, if they know

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\* Messrs. A. Birdsall, of New York, R. Brodhead, C. Brown, and C. J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania.

how to use it. Like the oppressed everywhere, they are the Many, and woe to the Few, when the imaginary bonds which have held them in obedience are discovered to be merely air. The maxim of her rule, "Divide and Conquer," failed her for once. The threatening aspect of affairs on the Northern frontier has deprived her of her usual tools, as soon as they saw reason to apprehend that their interests and hers had ceased to be identical. And so they have, by union, given her her first repulse.

And it is surely time that Freedom should take her turn in the direction of affairs. The history of the country is one connected succession of Slaveholding triumphs. First, Kentucky split off from Virginia; then, Louisiana purchased and admitted; then, the war of 1812; then, the Tariff; then, the Missouri Compromise; then, Nullification and the Tariff Compromise; then, the Florida War; then, the Annexation of Texas; and last of all, the War with Mexico, and the conquest of New Mexico and the Californias. And, as instruments and consequences of these victories, the appointment of almost every President and important Executive, Judicial, Diplomatic or Military officer. They have had the victory and the spoils of victory for sixty years, and the sluggish North is but beginning to open its stupid eyes to the fact. It is certainly encouraging to know that its eyes were not sealed in a judicial blindness, but that there was a reach of audacity which could pour twilight, at least, upon them. That, though it had been laboring mute as a camel under the heaviest load that Slavery could bind upon its back, for years, a weight could be at last found of which it would be impatient.

We have always thought, and said, that the only hope of the North lay in the very insolence of the encroachments of Slavery. This history proves it. Having submitted patiently to the extension of the domain, and, consequently, the duration, of Slavery, over millions of square miles and years unknown, and waged two bloody wars in its quarrel, the North at last recalcitrates against the putting of the new territory to the uses for which it was acquired. No resistance was made to the acquisition of Mexican territory by conquest, though its acquisition for any purpose was as gross an outrage as could well be perpetrated, if the tattered parchment of the Constitution had any

virtue in it; but after it had been won at a great cost of blood and treasure, then suddenly we awake to the consequences of our own act, and refuse to permit it to be occupied for the purposes for which it had been won! It is hopeful to see that these latent sparks of vital heat exist, for they may yet be kindled into a consuming fire. But it is the perpetual watchings and the unwearied importunity of the Abolitionists for the last eighteen years that are to be thanked for keeping them alive. Their unwelcome message has forced its way into the unwilling ears of the people, and compelled them to see where they are and whither they are going.

And, after all, the North deserves no credit for what it has done, any more than pity for what it has suffered. It has, all along, been willing to sacrifice the Slave to its own imagined advantage, and then made a great merit of it, as if it had been sacrificing itself all the while! It has been willing to purchase the delusive benefits of a deceptive Union at the successive cost of these concessions of its own true interest and the interests of humanity. And even the best of those who are aroused to a spirit of resistance to the encroachments of Slavery are still willing to guarantee to it all the comfort and protection which the Constitution extends to it. And, now, it is because the North sees that the cry of the South is that of the leech's daughter, "give, give," and that there is no end to its cupidity and its demands, but that an extent of territory is to be extorted for the purposes of Slavery; sufficient to place the sceptre forever in her gripe, it is therefore that the North is tardily and imperfectly arousing its energies to resistance. If it had not had its vitality developed by the state into which its guilty selfishness and indifference to the wrongs of the Slave had brought it, it would have been indeed plunged in the sleep of death. And the first restless tossing of the giant under his mountain-load of indignities and oppressions, is enough to startle into stillness, for the time being, the onward march of tyranny. What might it not have done had its heart been always right, as its hand has been ever strong! How would Slavery have vanished away before its face like a guilty dream!

The present session of Congress has not been without its witnesses to the presence of Slavery in all our National Affairs, and to the change which has come over the spirit of Northern

legislators. A petition, emanating from a Convention of the inhabitants of New Mexico, praying for a Territorial Government, with exclusion of Slavery, presented by Mr. Benton, has been denounced by Mr. Calhoun as "insolent and disrespectful!" Mr. Palfrey, in the House, asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all Acts of Congress establishing and maintaining Slavery in the District of Columbia. The leave to introduce was refused, indeed, but by only a majority of 13 (82 nays to 69 yeas). Mr. Root, of Ohio, offered a resolution requiring the Committee on Territories to report bills organizing Governments for California and New Mexico, and excluding Slavery therefrom. It was forthwith moved to lay this resolution on the table. This was *rejected*, by 107 nays to 80 yeas. The resolution was then adopted by the same vote. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table by a vote of 107 to 82. So that, if the Committee obey its instructions, we shall soon see the battle renewed on its merits. Mr. Giddings asked leave to introduce a bill authorizing the people of the District to express their desire as to the continuance of Slavery therein. A motion to lay this motion upon the table was carried, by 106 to 70, after a short debate, in which Mr. Giddings maintained the equal rights of blacks as well as of whites to vote on this and all other political occasions, elicited by a Slaveholding interrogatory. Mr. Palfrey has given notice of a bill for securing to all American freemen, deprived of personal liberty, the protection of a trial by jury. And last in this list of blows aimed at Slavery, or some of its adjuncts, came the resolution moved by Mr. Gott, of New York, instructing the Committee on the District forthwith to bring in a bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. A motion to lay it on the table, instantaneously made, was lost, 85 to 83, and the previous question carried for the purpose, on the part of some, to cut off debate, and of others to come at once to the main question. The main question being put, it was found to be carried by a vote of 98 to 87! Great excitement followed. Mr. Holmes of South Carolina proposed a secession of Southern members, himself setting the example, and was laughed at for his pains. Later in the same day Mr. Flournoy, of Virginia, moved that the Committee on the District be instructed to inquire into the expediency of ceding back again to Maryland,

all the District, excepting that portion covered by the public buildings. And this motion was sustained by a large majority. We have no time or space to speculate upon whereto these things may grow. But they are signs of a state of things at the North more hopeful than those of former years, and afford encouragement to continued and increased Anti-Slavery Agitation. The history of the farther doings of this session will come within the scope of our next Report.

## DEATH OF MR. ADAMS.

The last session of Congress was also made memorable by the death of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, which occurred under circumstances which if mournful, cannot but be regarded as fit and fortunate. After a life of more than fourscore years, and more than half a century of public service, he fell at last at his post in the Capitol, on the 21st of February, and expired within its walls on the evening of the 23d. This is no occasion to recite anew the history or the eulogy of Mr. Adams's public life. His virtues and his errors now belong to history and to posterity, which will not fail to pronounce a just judgment upon them. It is enough to say that brilliant as may have been his long career as a Diplomatist, as Prime Minister to Mr. Monroe, or as President of the United States, his enduring and distinctive fame will rest upon the labors of his later years, in the representative branch of the National Legislature, in behalf of Northern rights assailed by Slaveholding aggression. This has connected his memory with the history of the great struggle for human rights, which, after all, is the only history that makes a permanent and extensive impression on the mind of dispassionate posterity. For his manly defence of the Right of Petition he deserves high honor and perpetual remembrance. Though he did not accept, at least until near his death, the doctrine that Slavery should be swept from the National Domain at Washington, as a National disgrace, by the Nation's hand, still he led the forlorn hope which carried the entrenchments thrown up for the defence of that Slavery against the hands of its assailants, and helped to make this work of his successors possible and comparatively easy. The state of things in which we now rejoice, by which the question of Slavery has become the chief, almost



the only engrossing, topic of public and private discussion, is largely owing to the resolute and unwearied pioneering of Mr. Adams. He had a true hatred of Slavery, which grew stronger and stronger as his life declined. Had he survived yet longer, we believe that his last days would have been signalized by more direct attacks upon Slavery than those which had distinguished his past career. His death called forth almost unanimous demonstrations of respect and sorrow from almost every portion of the country. Even they who had threatened him with expulsion, if not with assassination, for his stand against the encroachments of the Slave Power, at last assumed a sorrow, if they had it not, over the hearse of the Nestor who had seen three generations of public men, whose memory extended back to the heroic age of our history, and whose public life was nearly contemporaneous with our National existence. But his loss was the most deeply felt, as his memory will be the most sacredly cherished, by those who saw in him the Embodiment of the old spirit of Liberty, the Champion of human rights in the warfare waged against them by Slavery.

#### THE WHIG AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

The political game of the last year has been complicated by the occurrence of the Quadrennial Election. The chief end of American Politics being the manufacture of Presidents, all other matters of public interest shrink into nothingness as each of our Olympiads draws towards its close. At the beginning of the Presidential campaign the Democratic Party seemed to be established as Lords of the Ascendent. They had waged the Mexican War and fought it to the end it aimed at. The patronage of the Government was in their hands. They had all the usual advantages possessed by a dominant party for influencing an impending election. It seemed as if the choice of the Candidate of the Party by the Convention at Baltimore would be equivalent to a choice by the People at the Polls. Every effort was accordingly put forth by the prominent candidates to secure the nomination which was sure to be registered and confirmed by the Electoral Colleges. These efforts were, as usual, mainly directed towards the conciliation of the South. General Cass, Judge Woodbury, General Worth, Mr. Buchanan,

and all who entertained a dream of that exaltation, were prompt in the performance of their homage and the assurance of their allegiance. When the Convention met in May, after several ballots General Cass received the requisite two-thirds, the established rule of the party of the largest liberty, by which the voice of the Slaveholding minority is made potential and supreme. He was, accordingly, proclaimed as the chosen of the ruling party, and his election, as well as his calling, was accounted sure.

And so it would have been, had not the Democratic Party itself, put an instrument into the hands of their enemies to chastise themselves withal. They had taught "bloody instructions" for their own purposes,

"——— which being taught, returned  
To plague the inventors."

The Mexican War which the Democratic Party had counted upon as its *cheval de bataille*, the war-horse which was to bear it on to victory, grew restive and unmanageable, and threw it disgracefully in the mire. The leaders had conjured up spirits which they could not conjure down again, and the result was their defeat and confusion. The relations of the two great parties towards the Mexican War became oddly assorted. The Whigs who had denounced the War in advance, and as it proceeded, as a piratical and murderous foray into Mexico for the base purposes of Slavery, but who had taken especial pains to keep on good terms with it by doing all things needful and necessary to aid and comfort it, found themselves obliged to accept one of its creatures for their Leader. A change in the game was demanded. The Democrats had ruled long enough by the grace of Slavery. It was time for the Whigs to lay claim to their share of its smiles and blessings. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, not to mention Judge McLean and Mr. Corwin, were obviously unavailables. A new candidate must be found, or Whig supremacy deferred till the Greek Kalends. One fortunately offered himself, who united the usually incompatible qualifications of personal notoriety and entire absence or concealment of political principles. General Taylor had passed his life in the camp, and professed to have no practical acquaintance with civil affairs. His name was a new one, having

been unknown beyond the narrowest circle of his personal and professional acquaintances, until his movement upon the Mexican territory in 1846. But he was a successful and popular General, a large Slaveholder and, what was better, a sugar planting one, which identified his personal interests with the policy of Protection, and what could "the Anti-Slavery Party" of the country ask for more? The black swan of a Tariff-loving Slaveholder, who would thus mingle the hostile drops of Northern and Southern interests into one, was found, and he was hailed as a bird of good omen to the thirsting Whigs.

General Taylor, himself, indeed, knew how to play his game with an adroitness which would have done honor to one hackneyed in the hells of politics. He did not desire the office, — not he! But if the people chose to place him in it, against his wishes, it must be as the President of the People, and not of a Party. He must be untrammelled by pledges, and must conduct the Government as he thought best. He professed his willingness to accept the nomination of any and all parties, and it was distinctly understood that he would run whether nominated or not by either of the great factions. Even after the nomination at Philadelphia, he gratefully accepted one from a Democratic meeting at Charleston, S. C., with the name of the Democratic candidate for Vice President, substituted for the Whig nominee. But with all his declarations against committing himself to any system of party measures, two great facts stood out before the world. The one, that he was a Slaveholder, which was security to the South that he was to be trusted on the Slavery question; and the other, that he was a sugar planter, which assured the North that he must be favorable to the policy of Protection. With these advantages he came into the Convention of June, at Philadelphia. His party were bent and resolute to carry their point, and never wavered in their purpose. The friends of other candidates, after three unsuccessful balloting, abandoned them in sufficient number to secure his nomination on the fourth. The scene at the Convention was disorderly and riotous in the highest degree. It refused to lay down any platform of principles. It voted down a resolution offered by Mr. Tilden, of Ohio, affirming the right of Congress to abolish Slavery in the Territories, and to forbid its extension into the new ones. All, however, might have gone

off with apparent and external satisfaction, had not Mr. Allen and Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, expressed their emphatic sense of the political trick that had been played upon the Whigs of the North. Mr. Allen declared the Whig party dissolved, and Mr. Wilson avowed his intention of doing all he could to defeat the election of Taylor. This rebellion in the camp, excited a storm of obloquy upon the heads of the withdrawing Abdiels; but it prevented the farce of a fictitious unanimity, and was a symptom that there did yet survive some spirit in the ranks, if not among the leaders, of the Whig Party.

This contumacy on the part of these members of the Massachusetts Delegation, and the adherence of the whole of them, (with the exception of Mr. George Lunt, whose fantastic Pro-Slavery tricks, in the Senate of Massachusetts in 1836, are fresh in all Anti-Slavery memories,) to the name of Daniel Webster, lost her the glory of furnishing the Vice President for the ensuing term. But Massachusetts submitted with singular patience to this affliction, and it is not believed that the circumstance lost General Taylor a single vote.

At the time of the adjournment of the Philadelphia Convention, when the two Parties had thus placed their champions in the lists, they entertained little doubt that the disaffected of their numbers would fall back again, after a few murmurings, and the contest be settled, as on former occasions, by the award of the South in favor of him that should prove most worthy of her smile. Of the circumstances which complicated and perplexed these calculations, and of the effect they had upon the result, we shall presently speak. The election was one of the most excited and exciting that has ever occurred. The balance hung so dubiously in many of the States, that the result was uncertain to the last, in a degree seldom before known. Although General Taylor was at last chosen by a large majority of the Electoral votes, still those Electors were chosen by an absolute minority of the voters! So cunningly is our frame of government contrived for placing the majority at the disposal of the minority! It was the confidence of the South in the fidelity of General Taylor to Slavery — a confidence resting upon his personal interests and position, — that obtained for him, first, the nomination, and then the victory. Whether the North will find her share of expectation fulfilled, remains yet to be seen.

The Democrats are waiting patiently to see whether the Whig candidate will not answer a very good Democratic purpose. The attempts which will be made, during this session of Congress to put the Slavery-extension question at rest, by some compromise which will save General Taylor the responsibility of action upon it, can hardly be successful. Without pretending to a prophetic character we shall risk little in affirming that the next Administration will be all that the Slave Power can wish. And we cannot but hope that the North will again find itself deceived and betrayed, and a new proof be afforded that there can be no UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

#### THE FREE SOIL PARTY.

In the report which we had the honor to lay before you last year, speaking of the political signs of the times, and particularly in New York, we said "A Northern Party is unquestionably at hand. Like the sects of Jerusalem, the jarring parties at the North will yet unite and present a formidable front to the common enemy. There is Anti-Slavery spirit enough in the Free States to create a formidable, if not a predominant party. All that is needed is men of personal integrity and moral courage to take the lead. We think the emergency will soon arise, if it have not arisen already, to call them forth." The events of the past year have shown that, in thus speaking, we did not prophesy vain things. The occasion has offered itself, it was seized, and the nucleus of the great Northern Party, yet to be, is gathered to a point.

The elements of political disaffection, the union of which grew into the Free Soil Party, had manifested themselves in various ways, and for a long time past. Especially in New York, the bad faith that had been shown to her favorite son by the Convention that nominated Mr. Polk, had prepared many of the Democratic party there for a display of resistance to the Power which has always ruled that party, whenever a fitting occasion should arise. Of this we spoke last year when describing the Conventions at Utica and Herkimer. The nomination of General Cass, and the virtual exclusion of the Barnburner delegates, by the Baltimore Convention, caused the first hostile demonstration. This took a tangible shape at a Con-

vention called at Utica in June, which denounced the nomination of Cass, and took firm and decided ground in favor of Free Territory. It also nominated Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. This Convention was composed of many of the most prominent Democrats of New York and struck no small consternation into the hearts of the Party throughout the country.

Immediately after the Philadelphia Convention the Whig discontents began to make themselves manifest. A Convention of all dissentients from the two nominations was invited to meet at Buffalo in August. A Convention was called by the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts, to meet at Worcester, on the 28th of June. Similar movements took place in other States. The Convention at Worcester was one of the largest ever held in the State, and characterized by a resolute purpose and a strong enthusiasm. Mr. Giddings of Ohio, who attended and gave added interest to it, subsequently spoke in Boston and other places with great effect. In August, the National Mass Convention met at Buffalo, and was one of the most remarkable political meetings on record. Vast multitudes from all parts of the Union, of all the political parties, came together and seemed to be melted into one by their zeal against the aggressions of Slavery. Though they looked only to the restraint of Slavery within the bounds which they, themselves, or their fathers for them, had erected for its protection, still the opposition sprang from a deep and strong Anti-Slavery sentiment. Though it was far from being the full harvest of the many years sowing of the Abolitionists, it was the happy springing of the green blade and the forming ear, which can hardly fail to grow up unto a full fruition. The nomination of Martin Van Buren and of Charles Francis Adams was made with great unanimity and enthusiasm by a body made up of original elements of the most extreme contrariety.

The nomination of Mr. Van Buren afforded a convenient loop-hole for the escape of those Whigs who began to find their consciences heavier than they could bear in the heat and burden of the day to which they were called. We have no particular faith in the political honesty of those politicians who professed to be strongly impressed with the importance of the principles incarnated in Mr. Van Buren, who yet refused to

support him on the ground of his former malfeasances, and gave their votes to Taylor or Cass as men to be preferred to him. In politics it will not do to inquire too curiously into the past history of men prominent enough to be a Presidential candidate. Bygones must be allowed to be bygones. A man's present position, his contemporary pledges, must be admitted for the purposes of political qualification. Men who are frightened from their political propriety by the spectre of Mr. Van Buren, are of too queasy a constitution to last long, even with the most industrious patching. They would soon have come to an untimely end, by some other distemper. The new party gained a loss in their demise. It is absurd for men willing to act under the Constitution, and to be true to its compromises, to object to the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, or Mr. Anybody else, to be their chief agent in maintaining them, who will consent to do it in the way they like the best. Mr. Van Buren answered the purpose of the party that nominated him, as well as anybody could.

Mr. Van Buren's Letter of Acceptance was a document that gave great satisfaction to the New Party, and with justice; for it was all that men limiting their movement to the Platform of the Buffalo Convention could ask. It accepted that Platform in full—was explicit and emphatic on the subject of Slave-Extension—thought circumstances have so far changed as to justify him in approving an act for the Abolition of Slavery in the District, though he does not think it advisable—and adopted the views of the Convention as to Internal Improvements, Public Lands, and a Revenue Tariff. It made Mr. Van Buren out to be a very suitable candidate for the Conscience Whigs, the Barnburning Democrats, the Liberty Party, and for all, generally, who are content to keep Slavery where it is, and to fight it with their hands tied with the compromises woven by their fathers, and worn willingly by themselves.

But though Mr. Van Buren will do very well for the Movement Whigs, Democrats, and Third Party Men, he is far enough from coming up to the mark of the Abolitionists. His whole argument rests upon the interference of Slavery with Northern influence and rights, and the danger of its power being augmented and perpetuated by its extension over new territories. He has nothing to say, except slightly and inferentially, against

Slavery itself. He is profoundly respectful to the Slave States and Slaveholders, and piously regardful of the Compromises of the Constitution. Now all this is what the New Party want. He and they should be all this. They contemplate remaining in a Slaveholding Union, and putting forth the united strength of the confederacy for the maintenance of Slavery within its appropriate sphere. He justly represents the party in all this. He plainly states the grievance of the non-Slaveholding States, as it lies in his mind: that they have been disappointed of the political supremacy, the expectation of which induced them to assist "in investing the Slaveholding States with the privileges and guarantees of the Constitution." Which means, being interpreted, in engaging to let them import slaves for twenty years, to send back their captives, to put down their insurrections, and to give them three votes for every five slaves. And it is not the atrocity of the bargain that shocks Mr. Van Buren so much, but the being overreached in the consideration.

Mr. Van Buren is at great pains to exculpate the Wilmot Proviso from the imputation of being disrespectful to the Slaveholding States! He talks a deal of twaddle about "the true glory of the Confederacy," and of "the humiliation of a part tarnishing the glory of the whole." He thinks that the Northern people are so "national in their feelings," and cherish so "deep a solicitude for the honor and welfare of all its members," that if "they believed the success of this measure would draw after it such grave consequences, they would be among the last to uphold it!" Polite Mr. Van Buren! We always heard he was a well-bred gentleman, but he seems to be the very pink of courtesy and mirror of knighthood. Lord Chesterfield was a boor to him! The glory of a Slaveholding Nation! The honor of woman-whipping and baby-stealing ruffians!

We think Mr. Van Buren is quite out in his inference, that because the Slave States were in favor of the Ordinance of 1787, that it was from any predilection for freedom. It was because they were jealous of the competition of new States in their own departments of production, and because the prohibition of the Foreign trade had not given rise to the Great American System of the Protection of the Domestic Manufacture of Men, that they were eager with their concurrence.



Who believes these men would be thus unanimous now, were the work to do again? Equally strange appears to us his way of looking at passing events, if he were induced to declare his intention of vetoing an Act for Abolishing Slavery in the District by the apprehension of a servile war! If "the extent to which this subject was pressed" created such a danger then, surely, it must be ten times greater now. And yet, Mr. Van Buren will not veto a Bill now! A servile war! Three millions of unarmed, uneducated slaves, fighting against seventeen millions of intelligent enemies, armed to the teeth! Does Mr. Van Buren think there can be any fear, or any hope, of such a war as long as this Union endures?

But we have no purpose of criticising this letter. It speaks for itself. It is all that voters under the Constitution have a right to ask. Mr. Van Buren fitly represents the party of which he is the head. He will oppose the extension of Slavery over New States; but he will maintain its constitutional rights in the Old. He will still deliver up the fugitive slave to the tyrant out of whose hand he has escaped. If a Sable Revolution is on foot, he will crush it with the whole force of the Nation. He will uphold the Oligarchy which rules over us, by maintaining their right to rule by virtue of their ownership in human flesh. All this he must do, if he be true to the Constitution he will swear to support. All this they who appoint him their minister by their ballots, empower and instruct him to do, by the terms of that Commission which they give him. Mr. Van Buren and his party leave the matter of Slavery where it was twenty years ago. They do not propose to meddle with its existence, provided it can live where it is. They only hope to curb its further progress. This is vastly better than nothing. It is a step in the right direction, over which we rejoice. But we cannot but see that it is but a very short and uncertain step. A step which might as well not have been taken, if it be not the precursor of another. And there is no other step to be taken within the Constitution. This touches its extremest bounds. The Abolitionists have transcended its limits. They refuse to be bound by it, and consequently, to bind others by it. They stand outside of it, and demand a purer Constitution and a holier Union. All they have to do at this crisis, is, to stand firmly in their present advanced and im-

pregnable position, and urge upon all genuine enemies of Slavery to come up and do battle by their side.

The nominations made and accepted, the Free Soil Party was instant, in season and out of season, in the promotion of its success. Its prominent members spared neither time nor talent in preaching its doctrine and recommending its practice. Mass meetings were held at all suitable points, and assemblies gathered in almost every village to hear the new word. The result was the rallying of a large minority, most respectable in point of character, as the germ of a new party. With the result its members have no reason to be dissatisfied. Its success was unprecedented, taking into consideration its brief existence and formidable foes. Its birth, too, was connected with the death of the Third Political Party, which merged itself in the New Party, with a joyful suicide. At Boston, at the time of the State Free Soil Convention, the "Liberty Party" formally dissolved itself. This was also done in New York, and we believe in most of the States where that Party had a recognized existence. Thus this impediment of the Anti-Slavery Movement is at last removed out of the way. It was a necessary concomitant of genuine Anti-Slavery, as counterfeit coin is sure to follow close on the heels of sterling money. A spurious Abolitionism sprung up in the presence of the true, as naturally and inevitably as the shade follows the substance. The Abolitionists had startled the selfish dreams of the State, and disturbed the fat slumbers of the Church. A new impulse was communicated to the mind of the country. The general attention was attracted to the wrongs of the slave and to the complicity of the politics, and yet more the religion, of the land in them. The ramifications of Slavery were found to reach farther than the clearest vision had discerned in the early days of the cause. It seemed as if the blows which were dealing to it must shake pulpits and affiliated theologies, as well as State-houses and parties. A way of escape had to be devised for those who, either through inadvertence or mistake, found themselves thundering at the gates of the Church. That way was discovered to lie through the gates of politics.

This way was an effectual one. It comfortably conducted the ministers, whose equanimity had been disturbed by the wholesale Ultraism of Anti-Slavery, back to the world; and

there they found ready to join them, a company of the refuse politicians of the two old political parties. Every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented, joined themselves unto them, and they became a party. Besides these, there was a proportion of honest men and sincere Abolitionists, who did verily believe that this was the best way of attacking Slavery. But the description of persons that gave tone to it were not such as could give confidence or respectability to any association which they led. As its origin was factious, its course has been devious. It had one set of principles for the East, and another for the West. Now it regarded the Constitution of the United States as an Anti-Slavery instrument; and, again, it recognized its Pro-Slavery character. At one time it professed to stand on the highest religious and moral ground; and anon it turned a somerset into the arms of Hale or Van Buren, — very sensibly regarding availability as a much better thing in a candidate, than piety. But throughout its course, and in all its various phases, it has shown none but a malign aspect to the Anti-Slavery cause. Its influence, as far as it has gone, has been evil, only evil, and that continually. What apparent good it may have done, has been incidental and accidental. It has retarded, not hastened, the very state of political feeling which has now devoured it up. The Free Soil Party exists, not because, but in spite of it. We believe that an effective political opposition to Slavery would have been embodied long since, had not the ground been cumbered with this preposterous faction.

But for a long time past the Third Party has shown signs of decrepitude and decay. The better portion of the party have grown tired of their disreputable leaders and their absurd position. We believe the respectable and honorable gentlemen who have joined themselves to it, have been somewhat impatient of the company in which they found themselves, and of the impracticable way in which they were set to work. It was obvious, small as the progress of the party had been, that it had seen its best days, and that henceforward its career would be backward. In this state of things, the Free Soil Party was a perfect God-send to it. Its members had an opportunity to obtain a respectable political *status* — to get into good company again — and they most eagerly embraced it. With the most earnest

speed, with no coy reluctance, with scarcely a dissenting voice, they united themselves with the disaffected portions of the national parties at Buffalo. It was the wisest thing they ever did, as a party. They are now in a position in which they can fairly help to try the experiment whether anything can be done, politically and partywise, under the Constitution, for the control or the extinction of Slavery. The high character and distinguished position of the leaders of the New Party, will throw those of the Old one into obscurity. They can never stamp their personality upon it as they did upon that which they owned themselves. In subordinate posts of labor they may be employed, though with no good will; but their little brief importance is gone, and their names will be now forgotten, except in connection with former treachery and dishonesty towards the Slave's cause. The sooner the better for the prosperity of the Free Soil Movement.

The day of prophecy is passed; that of fulfilment is come. For long years the Abolitionists have been looking forward to the state of things which is now beginning to develop itself. They have always known that the effect of their labors would at last be seen in the disturbance of the political elements and the re-construction of the political parties. They have seen and said, for long past, that there were no principles on which parties could divide, at this day, in this country, excepting Slavery and Anti-Slavery. In point of fact, for near thirty years there has been but *One* party, — the Slavery party, — which has governed the country through the factions springing from local or economical interests, into which the population of the country has, from time to time, divided itself. The better portion of those factions, who sincerely believed that vital principles were wrapped up in their organizations, were slow to believe that they were powerless for good, — mere "slavish officers of vengeance," — devices having as little to do with the regulation of our superincumbent despotism, as the Green and Red Factions of the Byzantine circus with that of the later emperors. But their eyes have been torn open by the insane fury of the tyrants themselves. They now begin to discern in how vain a show it is that they have so long been walking. And they are bestirring themselves to do what they may towards undoing the work of former years.

It is not too much to claim these results as largely owing to the labors of the Abolitionists of near twenty years. For nearly a score of years have they been preaching the Gospel of the Wrongs of the Black Man and the Guilt of the White Man. They have shown how the machinery of the State and the Church has been prostituted for the comfort and encouragement of the Master, and for the crushing and despair of the Slave. How political and ecclesiastical jugglers have endeavored, and with what fearful success, to sear the consciences, to deaden the sensibilities, to confuse the moral sense, to perplex the intellectual perceptions of the American People. How the National Government has ever been, and must ever be, in its present shape, a grand Conspiracy against Freedom and Humanity. How there is no innocence for the individual, except in refusing to use political power when it must needs be directed for the sustentation of Slavery, and no Redemption for the Slave, and no Regeneration for the Free, except in a Revolution which will utterly separate Slavery from Freedom. These truths they have enunciated and enforced as they successively arrived at them. At every successive step have they been resisted and reviled, and men and presses of all complexions of politics and of every shade of religious discrepancy have united in casting out their name and their doctrine as evil.

But the bread which they had thus cast upon the waters is returning unto them, after many days. The protest which they have kept alive against the National Crime, the continual claim which they have maintained for the rights of the Slave, the Truth which, line upon line and precept upon precept, they have reiterated in men's ears, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear, have not been uttered in vain. A public sentiment has been, slowly and with difficulty, created by the operation of Anti-Slavery papers, meetings and lectures, which reaches many who know not whence the influences which they feel went forth, and which is now beginning to be seen in Congress, in State legislatures, and above all, in the disorganization which is at work in the old political parties. These are things to make the hearts of Abolitionists rejoice. It is not the end, but it is the beginning of the end. It is not the harvest, white for the sickle, but it is the bursting forth of the green blade in which the prophetic eye of Faith sees fore-

shadowed the full triumph of the Harvest-home. It is a state of things which makes no difference in our position or in our duties, though it is full of fresh encouragement and new hope.

It makes no difference in our position or duties, because the new movements, onward and hopeful as they may be, are yet far beneath the level of the Anti-Slavery platform. Our business is to marshal them in the way that they should go, — to lead them up to yet loftier heights, — and not to fall back upon their imperfect point of progress. We hail their honorable rebellion with joy, and we hold ourselves ready to do whatever we may, consistently with our higher duties, to cheer and help them. But we may not acknowledge them as leading the van of the Movement against Slavery, — for they not only do not occupy, but they do not claim, such a position. It is a joyful sight to see honorable and influential men trampling upon their old party banners, and falling into line with their former antagonists, in order to present a more formidable front to a common enemy, — the common enemy of the human race. But it is, after all, only cutting off the outposts, and preventing the occupation of new country by the enemy, that these new allies propose to themselves. Useful as this service must be, if honestly attempted, whether successful or not, it can be regarded only as very secondary and subordinate to their own office by those who have sworn eternal hatred to the Adversary, and whose war-cry is, "*Delenda est!*" — Slavery must be extirpated, let what will perish with it!

The scope of the New Party is not a wide one. It does not propose to itself any very radical Anti-Slavery action. It is only indirectly and by implication an Anti-Slavery party, at all. It touches the system of Slavery only by opposing itself to its growth in certain directions. If it carry its point, Slavery will still exist and flourish. It is a hopeful movement rather with regard to the hopeless character of the parties from which its constituent elements have separated themselves, than to the broad views and high objects of the party itself. It is as a sign of discontent with things political as they exist, and of a reaching after something better, that it is to be accepted by Abolitionists as an augury of good. If it stop where it is, and make no forward movement hereafter, it would be better for it and its members if it had never been born. This is, doubtless, the

natural process of Revolutionary ideas and movements. They proceed from the lower to the higher; from the imperfect perception to the full comprehension of the Truth. We say Revolutionary ideas and movements, because all such as look to the removal of Slavery from this country, are, of their own nature and necessary tendency, Revolutionary. They strike at an essential element — at the governing element — of our Institutions. As truly Revolutionary as Ideas and Movements contemplating the extinction of the hereditary or monarchical principle in the polity of England. Not necessarily Revolutions achieved on Marston Moors and Bunker's Hills; but not the less Revolutionary because won on fields where Public Opinion speaks with a different but no less authoritative utterance. That this is understood by the Slaveholders, keenly observant and sensitive like all aristocrats, is shown by their renewed threats of Disunion in view of the present aspect of affairs at the North.

The Free Soil Party, however, is not in its nature and avowed purposes, a Revolutionary party. For it does not aim at the life, but only at the growth, of Slavery. Its name rightly describes it. It is a party for keeping *Soil* free, and not for setting *Men* free. Now Freedom of Soil is a phrase of no meaning, except in as far as it implies that of Men. Soil cannot be enslaved. It is as impatient of chains and whips as the sea or the air. Calhoun may be mad as Xerxes when

“The waves he lashes and enchains the wind,”

but he can never make the boon Earth his bond-slave. If the slaves of the United States are to be kept slaves forever by the power of the United States, it is of no particular consequence whether they be kept within the now acknowledged domain of Slavery, or scattered from the Potomac to Cape Horn. It is not the diameter of the circle which is to be described around the Fiend that is of so much importance. It is the potent exorcism which is to bind him and send him howling back to his own place, that we should seek to discover and employ. It is the Institution of Slavery that is the curse of the land and the disgrace of human nature, and not its permission in this or that portion of the country. As soon as the Free Soil Party becomes the direct antagonist of Slavery proper, it necessarily becomes

Revolutionary in its nature. For no political attack can be made upon it, in good faith, or with any effect, "within Constitutional limits," and by "Constitutional means."

Supposing the Free Soil Party triumphant, and all that it professes to desire to do accomplished, what would be its relation to Slavery where it now exists? Slavery would still be guaranteed to the Slaveholding States; the masters would still vote for three out of five of their slaves, as if their own political existence was multiplied in that ratio by this sort of ownership; if a slave escaped into a Free State, the master would still have the right of pursuit and recapture; and in case of servile revolution, the military arm of the nation, and, if necessary, the whole force of the Free States, would be put forth to crush it. All these things Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Adams will swear to do when they take their oaths to support the Constitution, and these things all those who, by voting for them under the Constitution, shall elevate them to office, empower and instruct them to do in their behalf and as their ministers. As far, then, as Slavery is concerned within its present limits, and as it now exists, the Free Soil Party is as much committed to its maintenance, if it obtain power, as the Whig or Democratic party, and Mr. Van Buren will answer the purpose of Slavery quite as well as General Taylor or General Cass, if he be true to the oath he must take as preliminary to the office. The Abolitionists, therefore, properly and distinctively so called, whose business is the extinction of Slavery wherever it exists in the nation, and who perceive that it can never be destroyed by supporting and defending it, either in their own persons or by their political servants, appointed at the polls, can obviously have nothing to do with this movement, except to point out its short-comings, and invite it to advance to a higher and more practicable point of attack. As long as it intends to be true to the Compromises of the Constitution, (as it must do, or be forsworn,) it is a *Pro-Slavery* party as truly as either of the three others — because it will give Slavery the countenance and support of the whole nation, just as they would do, in its place.

The New Party is not the party that is to abolish Slavery by withdrawing from it the support of Northern bayonets and pulpits, of the physical force and the public sentiment of the Free States; but it will prepare the way for its advent. It is not



the Deliverer, but it is the Messenger that goeth before his face. It is shorn of half its strength by its attempt to be a National, instead of a Sectional Party. To be effective, it must be distinctively a Sectional Party. It must renounce forever the allurements of the Delilah of Union, which has so often cheated the strong man of the North of his strength, and delivered him, bound, to the Philistines. The party, yet to be, which is to do this work, will be technically a Northern, or Free State Party. Its object will be, by the action of the Free States alone, outside of the Constitution, to free themselves, and the slaves, from their guilty support of the system of Slavery, while acting under the Constitution. This Party will agitate within the Free States for the formation of a new Confederation of States, that shall have no part nor lot in the support of Slavery, and shall be free from its despotic sway. It will go for a new Constitution, for a Union of freemen, free from the insidious element of tyranny, disguised in Compromise. Its object will be the foundation and edifying of a true Republic, where the people will choose their own magistrates, and make their own laws, and not merely register the edicts of a ruthless aristocracy, deriving its hereditary and prescriptive privileges from ownership in human beings.

This will be a movement which can be carried on in good faith and aboveboard, and one in which all can unite, who hate slavery for the blacks and subserviency for themselves. We believe great multitudes are ready for this movement now, as soon as it takes a political shape. We are sure that the experience of the Free Soil Party will show multitudes more, that this is their only hope for a National existence and Government, consistent with self-respect and their own rights. It is, too, the only hope for the Slave, and the Free White population of the Slave States. It is sometimes said that the North should remain in the Union for the sake of these classes. The North can do nothing for the Slave or the Free White of the South, as long as it remains in its present conspiracy with the Slave-master against them both. All that either, if intelligent, should ask, would be, "let us alone! Take your feet off our necks, and your muskets from our breasts, and leave the Slaveholders to us!" The abolition of Slavery would probably anticipate such a consummation, to prevent it. But if not, we may safely leave the quarter of a million Slaveholders to the

three million slaves and seven million non-slaveholding whites. As soon as the fear of the Northern minute-men shall be removed, as soon as the weight of the Nation shall be taken away from the oppressed classes of the South, they may be left to work out their own deliverance. Within a month from the Dissolution, unless prevented by Emancipation, the Barri-cades will go up in New Orleans and Charleston, and the super-incumbent tyranny will go down in blood. And would such a catastrophe be worse, horrible as it might be, than the daily horrors which are due to the postponement of it by the interposition of all the People as a Nation?

As it is the manifest duty, so it is the obvious policy, of the Abolitionists to maintain their present position, unless they discern one in advance of it. Their business is to use all parties and all sects in their unselfish work of abolishing Slavery, but to be used by none. Their steadfast and uncompromising adherence to their highest Anti-Slavery Idea, has brought up the public mind to its present point of progress. By the same fidelity only is it to be carried on to a yet higher stage of advancement. It would be absurd, as it would be fatal, for them to recede a step in the vain expectation of a speedier obvious result. The greatest possible expediency is a rigid adherence to the highest absolute right. So we hold that we shall best promote the Anti-Slavery Movement, in its every shape and modification, by being true to ourselves, by a strenuous maintenance of our Nonjuring Disunionism, and by a faithful upholding of the cardinal principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society — “NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!”

## MASSACHUSETTS.

The words and deeds of Massachusetts have been again at variance, when she was brought to the test of Anti-Slavery fidelity. Again has she protested in an eloquent report, drawn, we believe, by the Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham, against the Mexican War, and forthwith she proceeds to cast her vote for one whose only claim for the highest place in the Nation, consisted in successful chieftainship in that war, and this by the hands of the very protesting Legislature itself! Her public history during the past year has been chiefly composed of the

agitation of the choice between the Tyrant and the Parasite, whom the two great parties had set up for the people to worship. Though almost all persons of all parties professed to be hostile to Slavery and its Extension, still a large majority of the voters cast their votes for one or the other of the candidates, on whom Slavery had set her seal. An honorable resistance was made, to which we have just alluded, but it was in vain. It was but a Protest against the Past, and a Pledge for the Future. We hope that we shall see the one maintained and the other redeemed.

On the 5th of February, the question of the Dissolution of the Union, came up in the House of Representatives, upon the presentation of one of the petitions sent out by this Board, praying the Legislature to call a Convention of the People, to take measures for the protection of their rights and liberties, and to provide for a peaceful secession of Massachusetts from the Union. It excited a debate of some warmth and interest. Mr. Bryant, a Democratic lawyer, of Barre, opposed its being referred at all. "*The House*," said he, "*owed it to their dignity to refuse to give it any consideration!*" Mr. Griswold, of Greenfield, entertained the same lofty views of the dignity of the House and of the nature of the petition. "It should not be entertained. The first dawning of an attempt to dissolve the Union should be frowned down!" Mr. Bird, of Walpole, who distinguished himself as the Anti-Slavery leader of the session, combatted these slavish doctrines with much ability, and the right of the petitioners to be heard was also maintained by Messrs. Train, of Framingham, Branning, of Tyringham, Lord, of Salem, and others. The petition was finally referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. It was the wish of the petitioners that the petitions on this subject should go before a Select Committee; but public sentiment is not yet ripe enough to compel such a disposition of them. But the day will come.

The Judiciary Committee, which was thus charged with this matter, gave the petitioners a hearing on the afternoon of Friday the 17th of March. The hearing was had in the Hall of the House, being an improvement upon the courtesy of the last year's Committee which suffocated the audience within the limits of a small Committee Room. The audience was large, filling the entire Hall, and the Committee was addressed with

much logical acumen and eloquent earnestness by Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Garrison. It is hardly necessary to add that the Committee reported that the petitioners have leave to withdraw, and that their report was accepted. We would urge upon all who feel that the time has come for the delusive Union of these States to be broken up, to persevere in their Annual Demand upon their public servants to take the initiative step towards such a consummation. The number of the petitioners have annually increased since this form of agitation was adopted, and we trust that it will go on increasing until it can command attention and obedience. We commend this mode of Anti-Slavery action to the continued and earnest co-operation of the Abolitionists of the State and of the Country.

## OTHER STATES.

Since we last addressed you the State of Rhode Island has joined herself to the band of States, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Pennsylvania, which have forbidden their Judicial and Executive officers from assisting in the recapture of fugitive slaves, and closed the gates of their jails against the slave-hunter. Its passage was opposed in the House, chiefly by Mr. Samuel Ames, a lawyer of some distinction in Providence, and was urged by Messrs. Ballou, of Cumberland, Buffum of Smithfield, and Whipple of Coventry. It prevailed by a vote of 39 to 16. In the Senate it passed unanimously.

In the same State Mr. Justice Woodbury received a singular rebuke from the Grand Jury of the Circuit Court at Newport. He had laid down the law with great distinctness, and commented with great severity, upon the *foreign* Slave-trade, — a favorite topic with Slaveholding and Pro-Slavery functionaries, and one not unsuited to the meridian of that *quondam* emporium of the traffic. But the Grand Jury, by way of commentary on the law of the learned Judge, presented the American Slave-trade as more abhorrent to the principles of Democracy and Humanity, than that on the Coast of Africa!

In the State of New York an attempt was made to procure the passage of a "Latimer Law," similar to that passed, as above, in Rhode Island; but without effect. The report of the

Committee held to the doctrine that the Common Law was sufficient to prevent the aid and comfort sought to be taken from the Slave-hunters. And this in the face of the Prigg case, where the Supreme Court laid it down as their opinion that State Magistrates *were* authorized to give certificates and arrest fugitives, unless forbidden by express statute!

In Ohio, the Legislature has again refused to repeal the infamous Black Laws, which are a disgrace to Civilization and Humanity. We trust that the strong Anti-Slavery spirit which exists there will not cease to move upon the surface of Public Opinion until Ohio is redeemed from her anomalous and disgraceful position. The People of Ohio had, during the last year, an opportunity of judging of the advantages they derived from their fellowship with Slaveholders, to conciliate whom this diabolical code was framed and exists. Fourteen citizens of the State on the line from the river Ohio to Sandusky were arrested, held to bail, and a requisition made upon Governor Bibb for their delivery to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for the crime of assisting in the evasion of slaves! A crime committed wholly within the borders of Ohio, and consisting in hiding the outcast and giving him a helping hand on the road of Liberty! A good deal of excitement prevailed, but was allayed by the refusal of Governor Bibb to obey the requisition, on the ground that it was no offence against the laws of Ohio that was charged upon the accused, and that an offence against the laws of Kentucky could not be committed in Ohio.

The State of Connecticut, the last year, passed an act emancipating some score of slaves that still lingered within her borders, and forbidding the holding of that "peculiar species of property" there hereafter. Even a tardy act of Justice like this should not go without its meed of approval; but a stronger demonstration than this is needed to wipe away the disgraceful act of the people of Connecticut, last year, by which they refused to ratify the Constitutional amendment, giving equal political rights to her colored inhabitants.

#### THE SOUTH.

The prospects of approaching Emancipation in Kentucky continue to be hopeful. The public opinion of a State which has suffered so long under the semi-barbarism of Slavery must,

necessarily, sway backwards and forwards as varying impulses act upon it. The calling of the Convention is a sign that the tide is setting strongly in the direction of Emancipation. We hope to have good tidings to proclaim when we next address you. A symptom of reaction, which was shown in the Legislature, gave alarm and uneasiness at one time to those who were waiting for the better days. A proposition was made, and passed by the House of Representatives, to repeal the law of 1833 whereby the importation of Slaves was prohibited. The effect of this, had it passed, would have been to make Kentucky a breeding State, and thus to increase the selfish obstacles to Abolition. But fortunately, it was rejected by the Senate, though only by two votes.

The Louisville Examiner has continued to be an able auxiliary to the Emancipation Party in Kentucky. Though its ground is not the highest, it is transcendent when compared with the things in the midst of which it finds itself. Mr. John C. Vaughan, who established it, and conducted it with eminent ability for the first year of its existence, retired at the expiration of that period. His editorial tact, general information and special acquaintance with Slavery, rendered his retirement a serious loss to the paper and the Cause of Emancipation in Kentucky. His assistant editor, Mr. Cosby, together with the Rev. J. H. Heywood and Professor Noble Butler, succeeded him in his editorial duties, and have discharged them with much fidelity and talent.

Mr. Cassius M. Clay, since his return from the Mexican War, has done nothing to retrieve his tarnished fame and ruined influence. His labors have been mainly directed towards procuring the election of General Taylor to the Presidency. His works have been collected and published with a biography by Mr. Greeley. But the day when such a publication would excite any genuine interest is passed. The time has been when any utterance of Cassius M. Clay would have drawn willing audience from all who are eagerly hearkening for some tidings of hope from the Southern prison-house. Though the blast that he blew was rather the wild note of the bugle than the certain sound of the trumpet, still its echoes were joyfully caught up as the signs of life and the symbols of resolution. But all that is changed, now. He has thoroughly disenchanted himself. When

he sought the bubble Reputation in Mexico, and found only Captivity, his solid fame melted into air. His voice has no more virtue in it, now, than it would have had giving the word of command to his troop after the Capitulation at Encarnacion. He no longer speaks as one having authority. He has cashiered himself. And yet he clings to the remembrance of his former consideration, and seeks to conjure with the memory of his former power. But his wand is broken and his book buried deeper than ever plummet sounded.

It is a melancholy thing to witness such a fate as Mr. Clay has chosen for himself. With the fairest prospect of the greatest career in the country, he has failed at the outset. Instead of glory, he has covered himself with shame. Instead of strength, he has clothed himself with weakness. From being the terror, he is now the jest of the Slaveholders. In August, 1845, he was mobbed and put in danger of his life in Lexington. In December, 1847, he was welcomed back with processions, peals of bells and addresses! And neither he, nor his biographer, Mr. Greeley, seem to read this riddle aright. Such a failure is more mournful and more instructive, than the most touching ruin.

" Things incomplete and purposes betrayed  
Make sadder transits o'er Truth's mystic glass,  
Than noblest objects utterly decayed."

While the extinction and the limitation of Slavery has been agitating men's minds at the North, and on the Northern frontier of the South, the Institution itself has not been inattentive to the preservation and promulgation of its blessings. A plan to invade and take possession of the Northern Provinces of Mexico, by a Slaveholding Crusade, and the establishment of a second Texas, to be called the Republic of the Sierra Madre, in due time to be annexed with all its institutions, was set on foot in the extreme South, under the *nom de guerre* of a Buffalo Hunt. It was affirmed that the Government of the United States, while it refused to assist in this freebooting project, took no measures to prevent it; although such an undertaking is treason by the laws of the United States. Whether this Expedition will go forward, or whether the extension of Slavery will take some more recognized direction, will be a chapter in the history of the current year.

Nor has there been any lack of wordy protest against "the fanatical cravings of Abolitionism," which would rob the South of her share of the newly stolen domain. Public Meetings, Legislative Resolves, Gubernatorial Messages and, since the late agitation of the subject of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the District, the Southern delegation in Congress, have pronounced the ultimatum of the South. It is, substantially, that the South will consent to abide by the Missouri Compromise, grievous as was the injury done to her rights by that exclusion of her Slavery from regions in which Nature had made its existence impossible; but beyond that point Patience will cease to be a Virtue. Threats of Disunion and a Southern Convention, are thrown out with more or less distinctness; but they seem to fall upon inattentive ears. Even among themselves the Slaveholders are not united upon the course proper for them to pursue in this distress. We apprehend that there is little reason to hope for any such result. The South is too conscious of her weakness to proceed beyond threats and gasconades. Whether the nerves of the Northern members will be able to withstand this long triumphant bugbear will be soon seen.

The atrocious proposition of banishing the Free People of Color from Virginia, has again been recommended by the Governor of that State. The folly of a State that should think of depriving herself of Fifty Thousand laborers, would be worthy of Spain in the days of the Expulsion of the Moors, or of France in those of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. We can hardly think even Slaveholding folly can amount to such a fanaticism. It would be sure to redound, at no distant day, to the disgrace and discomfiture of its promoters. Such an attempt must help to arouse and concentrate the Anti-Slavery feeling which is rife in Western Virginia, and would, perhaps, hasten the day of the doom of Virginia thralldom.

The eyes of the Slaveholders, and of their Slaveholding countrymen in Cuba, are not yet diverted from the prospect of adding that wealthy Island to our Southern possessions. Though disclaimers have been put forth from official sources at Madrid and elsewhere, denying that any proposition of this sort was entertained by the Spanish Government, and although the local authorities have been prompt to check any demonstration in the



Island, in this direction, still, in the unsettled and uncertain position of Spanish affairs, and in the tempting nature of the prize itself, we see probabilities and reasons too potential to be overlooked or neglected by so sagacious a class of men as the Slaveholding leaders. If American Slavery do not obtain a foothold in the West Indian Archipelago, and at no distant day, it will be through a combination of circumstances which have not as yet entered upon the scene.

#### ESCAPE OF SLAVES.

On the 13th of March last, the Metropolis of the Nation was delirious with joy, in celebration of the Revolution which had changed France from a Kingdom to a Republic. It was a scene of glorious enthusiasm. Public meetings, addressed by prominent Members of Congress, Slaveholders, and others, filled up the hours of the day, while the festive blaze of illuminations and torch-light processions, made the night illustrious. But the joy was soon turned into mourning, for on the 16th it was discovered that a large amount of the property of the District had contrived to steal itself, and had disappeared from the eyes of its patriotic owners. More than seventy Slaves were missing, and the whole attention of the Collective Wisdom of the Nation, and of the Inhabitants of the District, was absorbed in the excitement it created. Every measure for their recapture was taken, and, unfortunately, with too much success. On the 17th, the Pearl, the vessel which was freighted thus deep with weary and hopeful hearts, was captured by a steamer sent in pursuit, brought back to Washington, and the whole cargo, as well as the gallant men who had attempted this great deliverance, were committed to the Prison of the Nation. The subject was first brought up in the House, on that very day, by a motion of Mr. Giddings, for an inquiry, by a Select Committee, into the reasons why these persons had been cast into prison for attempting to escape from bondage. But it was voted down amid the jeers and laughter of the House.

In the excitement which pervaded the City, consequent on these events, a tumultuous assemblage of the more ignorant classes of the inhabitants, who had heard the National Era denounced as an Abolition paper, proceeded, under this delu-

sion, to demand its suppression. The explanations of the editor, and the better information of the more intelligent portion of the citizens, saved him from the crown of martyrdom, and the Era still continues to be peacefully issued in a city where no genuine Anti-Slavery paper could exist for a day. But the Mob, though satisfied as to the innocence of the Era, were not mistaken as to the mischievous influences of some obnoxious members of Congress, and they threatened them with condign vengeance. Mr. Giddings was the especial object of their wrath, and it was thought that he was in actual danger of personal violence.

In view of this state of things, Mr. Palfrey, on the 20th, offered a resolution to raise a Select Committee to inquire into the facts relating to the safety of property in the District, and to the inviolability of the persons of the Members of Congress. This gave rise to a long and angry debate, in which Mr. Palfrey and Mr. Giddings had to withstand, almost alone, the combined forces of Slavery in the Lower House. They both of them distinguished themselves by the readiness and force of their rejoinders to their antagonists, and by the courage and temper of their bearing. The resolution was, of course, laid upon the table. In the Senate, Mr. Hale stirred up a similar tempest, by asking to introduce a Bill for the protection of property in the District against Mobs. Though the subject of Slavery, the immediate occasion of the Bill, was not mentioned in it, still it called forth all the zeal and all the venom of the Slaveholding Senators. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, in the course of the debate, distinguished himself by the coarseness and virulence of his Pro-Slavery utterances, in the course of which he said that if Mr. Hale would visit his State, "he would not travel ten miles before he would grace one of the tallest trees of the forest, with a rope about his neck, with the approbation of every virtuous and patriotic citizen; and that, if necessary, he (Mr. Foote) would assist at the operation!" Mr. Hale had to defend himself single-handed against his opponents, no Northern Senator giving him any assistance, with the exception of some of a very equivocal kind, from Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Douglass, of Illinois, whose drift of argument was to show that the Slaveholders were injuring the cause of Slavery by the tone of their speeches and the character of their propositions! The motion, of course, came to nothing.

As to the unfortunate beings, whose obedience to the instinct of freedom had created this disturbance, the greatest part of them were soon passed into the hands of the Slave-traders, and carried to the more distant and fatal regions of Slavery. The generous men, ~~Drayton and Sayres~~, remained in jail, subjected to the harshest and most unjustifiable treatment, until the end of July and beginning of August. Bail, notwithstanding the provision of the Constitution that it shall not be excessive, was required in the sum of \$76,000! And it was not thought safe to have them taken before the highest Judicial authority of the District, to apply for a reduction, lest their lives should be sacrificed by the vigilant mob! Towards the end of July, Captain Drayton was brought to trial. He was ably defended by the Hon. Horace Mann, and Mr. Carlisle, of the District. Before any but a Slaveholding Bench the prisoner would have been discharged on more than one point of law; and by any but a Slaveholding jury he would have had a triumphant acquittal. As it was, the jury was out nearly twenty-four hours, and, it is believed, was at last only starved and threatened into unanimity.

In August, Captain Sayres was tried and acquitted on the indictments for stealing slaves, but convicted on those for "transporting" them. English, the other prisoner, was acquitted, there being no evidence against him. The penalties to which these brave men are subjected, will be a virtual condemnation to perpetual imprisonment, unless their sentences be remitted, or the proceedings in their cases reversed. Exceptions were taken to the ruling of the Court, which will bring the question before the Supreme Court of the United States. It is hoped, perhaps too sanguinely, that even Slaveholding Judges will have too much respect for their legal reputation to sustain the law of Judge Crawford. Be this as it may, it will bring up the whole question of Slavery in the District for adjudication, before all the People, and whatever may be the result, it cannot but be helpful to the interests of Liberty.

Though this signal instance of the triumphant manner in which Slavery over-rides law as well as justice, and the striking nature of the case from the amount of misery involved in the re-capture of so large a number of fugitives, produced a strong sensation in the Northern States, still it was by no means so

deep or so universal as a stranger to our institutions might have supposed it would have been. But while we lament this, we cannot but admit that such indifference is but the natural and necessary result of the institutions under which the American people grow up and live. A Committee, however, was raised in Boston, who have received a considerable amount of money, the largest part of it being from the munificent hand of Gerrit Smith, which has been expended in the defence of the prisoners. We believe that the funds of this Committee are now at an end, though the call for them is as pressing as ever. We cannot but hope that the lovers of Justice, and those especially who are desirous of procuring a decision of the highest tribunal in the country, upon the constitutionality of Slavery, will see to it, that the sum necessary for a full trial of the case is supplied.

This was by no means the only instance of the way in which offices of humanity, the most simple and the most imperative, are converted into crimes by the infernal magic of American Laws. Last June Thomas Garrett and Thomas Hunn, members of the Society of Friends, were tried at Newcastle, Delaware, and convicted of the crime of having given food and shelter, and conveyed from one town to another, an unfortunate black woman and her six children, who had been discharged by the Chief Justice for want of evidence of their servile condition! For this offence Mr. Garrett was fined \$5,400 and Mr. Hunn \$2,500! The presiding Judge ruled that if the persons assisted were Slaves, and the defendants assisted them, they were guilty of the crime of assisting fugitives, notwithstanding the discharge of the parties for want of evidence! If such be justice in a State on the borders of Freedom and on the verge of Emancipation, what must it be in the more desperate Slave States?

In the same frontier State, Samuel D. Burns, a worthy colored citizen of Wilmington, of respectable position and good education, has been tried and convicted of the offence of assisting runaway Slaves, and sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars and costs, to be imprisoned ten months and then sold to the highest bidder, as a Slave, for fourteen years! Of course this is equivalent to selling him into life-long Slavery, for who is to seek him out and protect his rights at the extreme

South, at the expiration of fourteen years, should he then survive? How long will Divine Justice sleep before it is avenged of such a people as this!

But notwithstanding the severity of these and other examples, we are happy to know that the stream of fugitives from a land of Slavery still keeps flowing and swelling on. The evasion of Slaves from the frontier States is continual, and from the remoter ones frequent. It is becoming daily more and more difficult for a master to reclaim a fugitive, and in many parts of the country no such attempt would be made. Queen Victoria is daily receiving new and grateful subjects who fly from the tyranny of a Republic to the generous shelter of a throne. And the Free States are continually acquiring useful citizens by this emigration from the Slave States. May it increase till every town in the Free States has some one whose complexion, whose history and whose danger may forever remind them that they, too, belong to a Slaveholding nation, and that they can perform the first duties of humanity only at the cost of violating the laws of their country!

#### THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

The public consideration of the subject of Slavery in Great Britain has been chiefly, during the past year, in the direction of its relations to the settlement of the Sugar Duties Question. The full penalty incurred by the British Nation for its encouragement of Slavery and the Slave-Trade is not yet paid. The ghost of the departed Slavery of the West Indies still walks in the purlieus of the British Senate, frightening ministers from their propriety, and threatening to push them from their stools. The gradual extinction of the discrimination in favor of British Sugar was demanded by the consumers at home. Lord John Russell yielded to this demand so far as to provide for its gradual reduction until 1854, when all sugar should be admitted on equal terms. This was coupled with loans to the planters of £660,000, to enable them to meet the crisis. Even this liberal arrangement found small favor in the eyes of the West India Interest,—the spoiled child of English legislation. The cry of that Interest has ever been that of the leech's daughter, "Give, Give!" It must first have human beings for its beasts of

burden, and when amply compensated for their restoration to humanity, it claimed the monopoly of the British market as its due; and now when the spirit of Free Trade fixed a day when the sugars of the colonies should be put on equal terms with those of the rest of the world, it called for a free gift, under the name of a loan, of no less a sum than £500,000 for the importation of laborers. This question occupied the public mind and the time of parliament for a considerable time, and every species of influence was brought to bear on the British Senate to tax the British people yet again for the benefit of the Jamaica planters.

The philanthropic argument was strenuously urged, and by none more strongly than by the members of the Broad Street Committee. The guilt of encouraging the production of slave-grown sugars was loudly dilated upon. But, unfortunately, these philanthropists, whose humanity, as George Thompson said, "seemed to be confined within the circumference of a sugar-hogshead," forgot to remember that there was slave-grown *cotton*, too, which calls for legislative suppression quite as loudly as slave-grown sugar. But there being no colonial cotton-growing interest to take care of, no outcry was raised against that staple of British Wealth. The attempt was fully made during Slavery, and has been tried since, to make the West India Islands sugar-islands in despite of Nature. Nothing but the highest rate of protection, that of war, ever made it really worth while to pursue the culture of sugar in those islands. The attempt, during Slavery and since, has been ruinous to the planter and burdensome to the British people. They now pay nearly three millions sterling for the continuance of this fatal experiment. Just as we are heavily taxed in order that negroes may be ground into sugar and distilled into rum in Louisiana, which Nature never made for the cane any more than she made men for Slaves.

It seemed, therefore, to the advocates of Free Trade, that it was time to consider the wants of the consumers at home as well as the necessities of the producers in the Islands. There is no interest that has been so petted and received so much protection from the Home Government as the planting interest. Mr. Bright, in his speech on this subject, showed that so far from the compensation granted in 1834 being inadequate, that,

had the amount paid to Jamaica been invested at five per cent, the annual income would have been greater than the value of all its exportations in the most prosperous years? And so of the other principal sugar colonies. The remedy for the distress of the colonies is to direct their attention to other tropical productions which they can raise to advantage. There seemed to be no great unwillingness, on the part of the liberal presses and members, to grant this assistance, for this once, to be applied to irrigation and improvements in agriculture; but Mr. Thompson and others protested against its being applied to the introduction of laborers from Africa, regarding it as a modified revival of the Slave-Trade.

Mr. Thompson's speech on the 26th of June, was an extremely able exposition of the whole subject, and a very eloquent enforcement of his views. He did not fail to do justice to the abominations of our Slavery and to enforce his argument as to the consistency of the legislation asked by the protectionists, by referring to their relations with us. He said:—

“ True, we have washed our own hands of the abomination in our own colonies, but while we have a British Ambassador at the court of Brazil, and another at Washington,—while we were recognizing those communities as nations, forming treaties with them, and allowing their citizens to hold a station among us, and while we recollect our own recent connection with Slavery,—it was not for us to turn round all at once, and preach the doctrines of humanity, freedom, and justice, or seek to advance them by fiscal enactments or brute force.”

Many other eminent speakers, on both sides, derived illustrations and arguments from the Slavery of the United States. The debates furnished new proofs of the just contempt into which this country is falling, in the eyes of statesmen and politicians, as well as of moralists and philosophers, in consequence of the accursed Institution. It would be well if their words could be re-echoed through the land; if there be ear or soul to apprehend their meaning. On the 29th of June, Sir Robert Peel uttered the following words, towards the close of his speech, which, surely, might draw audience as the deliberate opinions of the first Statesman of the Age,

“ Whose old experience doth attain  
To something like prophetic strain ! ”

"There have been mighty convulsions in Europe. Their mighty heavings are already felt on the other side of the Atlantic. Look at Martinique. (Hear, hear.) These are useful lessons, by which Brazil, Cuba, and the United States, will do well to take a timely warning. (Hear, hear.) My belief is that the events which have just happened in Europe must precipitate the time of the final extinction of this Slavery and of the Slave-trade. I hope that the abolition will be effected by timely precautions on the part of Governments; but there will be an increasing sympathy with the condition of Slavery. But whether there be wise and providential legislation on the part of governments or not, I believe its doom is sealed; that Slavery cannot long survive; that it must, at no remote period, be extinguished."

The question of the expediency of continuing the blockade of the Coast of Africa, has also excited its share of public and private attention. The evidence before the Committee of Parliament upon this subject, gave new and frightful views of the extent and horrible cruelties of the African Slave-Trade. It cannot be denied that the British Government has been consistent and hearty in its warfare with this atrocious form of piracy. We regret that its efforts have not been more successful, and we blush to think that the failure has been in no small measure owing to its virtual encouragement and support by the Government of the United States. Whether the active measures of the African Squadron will be continued, or whether the National energies will take some other direction, we have full faith that the hostility of the British Nation to the African Slave-Trade will cease only with its extirpation.

From the Abolitionists of England, Scotland, and Ireland, we have received renewed and increasing assurances and proofs of their constant and enlightened zeal in behalf of the American Slave. Though there has been no excitement from the personal presence and influence of American Abolitionists, the interest of the Abolitionists of these Kingdoms, in the American Movement, seems never to have been warmer or more intelligent. An interest, like theirs, in efforts for the removal of an evil so far remote from themselves, springing as it does from the impulses of humanity, and fortified by the sanctions of religion, may be depended upon as enduring. Even the calamities with which they have themselves been visited, coming in the shape of actual famine and of threatened civil war, failed to



divert their attention from the worse than starving victims of a worse than political oppression. Liberal gifts from all of these countries, falling behind none of the most bounteous of former years, helped to fill the scanty treasury of the Slave, through the medium of the Faneuil Hall Bazaar, and those held at Philadelphia and Rochester. The blessings of those that are ready to perish, and of the few that are found to help them, abide upon these faithful and unwearied philanthropists!

We regret that we are obliged to record the death of Major John B. Colthurst, of Dripsey Castle, Ireland, of whose Journal, while employed as a Special Magistrate in Barbadoes, and of whose other Anti-Slavery services, we had occasion to speak last year. "He died," as we are informed by a letter from his daughter, "on the 10th of May, after years of acute suffering from lingering and painful disease, of which the foundation was laid by his excessive exertions during the four years he held the office of Special Justice in the British West Indies." "It will be gratifying," the letter continues, "to his friends and fellow laborers in America, to know that, to the last, his interest in the great cause in which they are engaged, remained unabated." His last words were, "It is a comfort to me, *now*, to know that, so long as it lay in my power, I never spared any exertion calculated to promote the cause of Justice and Humanity." Such a reflection might well smooth the pillow of death, and soften the pangs of the bereaved survivors. It is his sufficient eulogy, and might be his fitting epitaph.

#### ABOLITION OF FRENCH SLAVERY.

In our last year's Report, after describing the Tunisian and Danish Emancipation, we said, "France will soon follow!" But we little thought that fulfilment would follow so closely upon the steps of prophecy. The "masterly inactivity" which Louis Philippe and his ministers had shown in regard to this matter gave but little hope that Freedom would dawn upon the French Islands during the reign of the Citizen King. It was but too evident that he had no heart for this work, and that the majority of the Chamber of Deputies was of like mind with their master. But the whirlwind of the Three Days of February supervened. The Orleans Dynasty was swept away like

stubble before the blast. The Chamber of Deputies disappeared with it. The Republic was proclaimed. The Provisional Government assumed the helm of affairs until the Nation could organize itself. And one of the first acts of the new depositories of the Supreme Power was to decree the Immediate Emancipation of all the Slaves in the French dependencies. The brief and sublime decree was couched in the following words :

### FRENCH REPUBLIC.

LIBERTY — EQUALITY — FRATERNITY.

The Provisional Government of the Republic, considering that no French land should any longer bear slaves, decrees — a Commission is instituted under the Provisional Minister of Colonies and the Marine, to prepare, within the shortest delay, the act for the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES in all the colonies of the Republic.

F. ARAGO.

*Paris, March 4.*

This proclamation was worthily succeeded a few weeks later — April 27th — by the final Decree carrying into effect the intentions of that just recited. Its preamble, and the spirit of the articles generally, especially those which provide that the soil of France, or any of her dependencies, shall emancipate any Slave touching it, and forbidding all Frenchmen, everywhere, from possessing, purchasing, or selling Slaves, on pain of the loss of citizenship, are worthy of the first days of a True Republic. The provision for a delay of two months before complete Emancipation, and the allowance of three years for Frenchmen in Slaveholding countries to dispose of their Slaves, are indeed to be regretted as blots upon so brilliant a page of History. But, with these defects, it is the most magnanimous and courageous act of justice ever performed to an oppressed people by their oppressors. It cannot be thought out of place to insert it here in full, as one of the most interesting movements of the World's Anti-Slavery History.

The Provisional Government, considering that Slavery is an attempt against the dignity of man; that by destroying the freedom of man, it suppresses the natural principles of right and duty; that it is a flagrant violation of the Republican dogma of liberty, equality, and fraternity; that unless effective measures follow closely the proclamation already made of the

principle of abolition, deplorable disorders may arise in the colonies, decrees —

ARTICLE 1. Slavery shall be entirely abolished in all the colonies and possessions of France, at the end of two months after the promulgation of this present decree in each of them. From the promulgation of this present decree in the colonies, all corporal punishment, all sales of non-liberated persons, shall be absolutely interdicted.

2. The system of engagements for periods of time, established at Senegal, is suppressed.

3. Governors or Commissaries-General of the Republic are charged with applying the measures suitable for insuring emancipation at Martinique, Guadeloupe, and its dependencies, the Island of Reunion, Guiana, Senegal, and the other French settlements on the western coast of Africa, the Island of Mayotte and its dependencies, and Algeria.

4. All slaves condemned to afflictive or corrective punishments for acts which, if imputed to freemen, would not have been visited with these punishments, are pardoned. All individuals transported as an administrative measure, are recalled.

5. The National Assembly shall fix the indemnities to be granted to the colonists.

6. The colonies, purified from Slavery, and the possessions in the Indies, shall be represented at the National Assembly.

7. The principle, that the soil of France emancipates the slave who touches it, is applied to the colonies and possessions of the Republic.

8. In future, every Frenchman, even when in a foreign country, is interdicted from possessing, purchasing, or selling slaves, and from participating, directly or indirectly, in any traffic or dealing of this nature. Every infraction of these provisions shall involve the loss of the quality of a French citizen. Nevertheless, Frenchmen who shall find themselves affected by these provisions, shall be allowed three years to conform, from the time of the promulgation of this decree. Those who may become possessors of slaves, by inheritance, gift, or marriage, shall, under the same penalty, emancipate or alienate them within the same delay, from the day on which their possessions shall have commenced.

9. The Minister of the Marine and Colonies, and the Minister of War, are each, so far as concerns him, charged with the execution of the present decree.

Done at Paris, in Council of Government, this 27th of April.

The manner in which the boon (if a simple act of justice should be so styled) of freedom was received by the French Slaves was illustrative of all the simple and natural truths of the Anti-Slavery creed. The first advices which we received

from the French Islands was to the effect that the blacks were massacring the whites and laying waste the country, and that the latter were flying for their lives to escape from the fury of their emancipated bondmen. Authentic accounts, however, soon contradicted these absurd rumors, and told that it was not freedom, but the temporary withholding of it, according to the unwise clause of the Decree of Emancipation, that had given occasion to whatever of insubordination and violence the Slaves had committed. Seeing their rights placed almost within their reach, and then told that they were not to lay hold of them for two months, and especially in view of the great uncertainty as to what two months might bring forth in the history of the mother country, it is not to be wondered at that the Slaves refused to wait, or that they threatened to extort at once what they feared might be lost to them by delay. Their philosophy was much better in this respect than that of the *savants* and statesmen who made up the Provisional Government. But as soon as the proper remedy was applied by the Governors of the Islands, and immediate abolition proclaimed, all fears were calmed, all signs of violence disappeared, frowns gave way to smiles and tears of joy, and hostile demonstrations were replaced by religious processions and public ceremonies of rejoicing. In St. Martins the example of French justice compelled an equal measure to be dealt out by the authorities of the Dutch part of the Island. Thus the first impression was made upon the Slave-system of a nation that has never yet shown any disposition to be rid of it. We hope that the success of this slight experiment may lead to more extensive results.

While this great act of justice was thus performed by the Provisional Government, without the breath of opposition being heard against it in France, and while it was thus gratefully and peacefully received, when made complete and perfect, by its objects in the Islands, it was the source of no small annoyance and debate in the Houses where the Collective Wisdom of the Model Republic is gathered together. The birth of a New Republic, indeed, was an occasion of National self-eulogy and of pretended sympathy with a struggle for freedom, too favorable to be neglected by the Logocracy that rules over us. But the reproof implied in the action which had accompanied and

## REPORT.

sanctified the French Revolution, was too keen and too deep to be borne with equanimity. On the 30th of March a Joint Resolution of Congratulation to the French, offered by Mr. Allen of Ohio, came up for consideration in the Senate. Mr. Hale moved to amend by adding among the reasons of congratulation that the French Nation had "manifested the sincerity of their purpose (of establishing a Republican form of Government) by instituting measures for the immediate emancipation of the Slaves in all the colonies of the Republic." This gave occasion to a solemn debate in which the prospects of the French Republic were considered by Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Douglass, Mr. Allen and others; and the first decision of the Senate was to defer the consideration of the resolution until it was ascertained whether the French were deserving of congratulation or not. This first unlucky act of theirs was, unquestionably, the main source of the doubts that agitated the Senatorial mind. At a later day a resolution of congratulation, couched in the simplest and baldest terms was passed by the Senate and sent down to the House.

In this latter body, the debate was more protracted and much more excited and agitating. On the 3d of April, Mr. Cummins, of Ohio, offered a series of congratulatory resolutions to the French and Italian people. To one of these resolutions Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, moved to add as an amendment "and we especially see an encouraging earnest of their success, in the Decree which pledges the Government of France to the Immediate Emancipation of Slaves in their Colonies." To this was added by the mover's consent, on the suggestion of Mr. Schenck, of New York, the clause, — "recognizing, as we do, the great cardinal republican principle, that there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime." This gave rise to a warm debate of great length, in which the folly and fanaticism of the proposition of Immediate Emancipation was loudly denounced. The whole debate, indeed, took the shape of an Anti-Slavery discussion. At a later day, the following resolution, above referred to, came down from the Senate:—

*Resolved*, That, in the name and behalf of the American people, the congratulations of Congress are hereby tendered to the people of France, upon the success of their recent efforts

to consolidate the principles of Liberty in a Republican form of Government.

This resolution, after debate, was adopted by a vote of 174 to 2. The next day, Mr. Palfrey moved a reconsideration for the purpose of moving an amendment to the same effect. Upon this motion the whole subject of Slavery, and of the treatment of the free people of color in the Free States came up again, and one of the most angry debates or conversations of the session ensued. But the question of reconsideration was laid upon the table by 124 to 44. Thus it was that the felicitations of this Republic to the French People on the recovery of their right of self-government were marred and almost smothered by the black and damning consciousness of our own inconsistency and guilt.

The joy caused by this memorable act in the breasts of all the true lovers of impartial liberty in the country was sincere and cordial. But the hearty expression of it was almost entirely confined to the "technical" Abolitionists. At most of the other Meetings of Congratulation on the Revolution, this distinctive feature was but too generally unnoticed, or glanced at in the most perfunctory style of generalization. That there might be at least one Assembly which should express in the fullest manner what should be felt by all consistent Americans, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society called a Public Meeting, at the Melodeon, in Boston, on the evening of Fast Day, April 6th. The use of Faneuil Hall, the fitting scene of such an occasion, was denied by the City Government, lest the mourning decorations with which it was hung at the time of the funeral of Mr. Adams, and which it still retained for the occasion of his eulogy, should receive some detriment. The meeting was held in the Melodeon, which was entirely filled, and with as intelligent and discriminating an audience as Boston could supply. Mr. Garrison took the chair about half-past seven, briefly stated the occasion of the meeting, and read the Decree in virtue of which Slavery is to cease forthwith in the dependencies of France. Unfortunately, the state of his health prevented him from taking a more extended part in the proceedings of the meeting.

After the Resolutions had been read by Mr. Quincy, with a few remarks, Mr. Wendell Phillips made one of his very best

and most impressive speeches, full of thought and emotion, fitly uttered and adorned. He shadowed forth the far reaching issues of this great act upon the destinies of our own Slavery. He recounted the treachery of the cunning King to the Republican Idea in the person of Lafayette; he described the apparent success and prosperity which had attended on the treason; and then pointed to the inevitable Nemesis which pursued and overtook him, at last, when he seemed to have established himself forever. He, then, denounced the treason of America to the Republican Idea, and closed with a prophecy that Eternal Justice would yet overtake her, and avenge Lafayette, Kosciuszko, and Steuben, for the faith she had broken with them.

He was followed by Messrs. Theodore Parker and William H. Channing, both in the best mood of their several styles. Mr. Parker drew a favorable augury of the permanence of the new institutions from the moderation shown by the populace in the stormiest hours of the Revolution. He denied that the French people were without a fitting education for self-government, and scouted the idea that it was "*too soon*" to rejoice in a change, the issues of which were yet unknown. "When a man-child is born into a house," said he, "of fair proportions and goodly promise, *that* is the time when we congratulate the event. We do not wait till he is *grown up*!"

Mr. Channing opened in a fine vein of scorn of the peddling spirit in which the news of this great event was received in this country, and the apprehensions of possible damage to our trade which swallowed up all generous sympathy. He dwelt emphatically upon the characteristic feature of this movement—that it was the Revolution of the laboring classes; not of an Aristocracy against a Throne, or of the *Bourgeoisie* against the Aristocracy. He contrasted the spirit and character of the French and the American people, and showed the higher hope which the infancy of the New Republic gave to the nations to make amends for the disappointment of our own maturity. He concluded by bringing before our eyes the gigantic negro who stood upon the scaffold in the *Place de la Revolution*, in the Reign of Terror, stripped to the waist, his broad black breast flecked with gore, as he shook in the face of the people, one after another, the convulsed heads of the victims of the guillotine. "Such an apparition," he exclaimed, "haunts every

land of Slaves! Such a spectre disturbs the slumbers of the planters of the French sugar islands! Such a ghostly presence drives peace far away from our own Southern States! The French Republic has used the only spell of power to exorcise the dire phantom from its own borders. And there are no words of might enough for our deliverance but the magic formula of Lamartine, — **IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION!** —

The actual equality established by the Abolition of French Slavery, has received its seal before the whole world, in the presence of two black and two colored Members of the National Assembly,—one of the former having been once a slave. These gentlemen were received with marked distinction, and the eagerness of their fellow members to welcome them even disturbed the order of the session, when they were introduced. When shall we see a man of color admitted to a seat in Congress, or even in the Legislature of one of the Free States? Thus this Great Act of National Repentance and Reparation has been completed. Whatever may be the fate of the French Nation,—whether, as its enemies prophesy, it shall prove incapable of self-government, and again sink into political servitude, under the yoke of another Restoration of the Elder or the Younger Branch of the Capets, or of a new Return from Exile of the Napoleonic Dynasty, or whether it shall indeed exhibit to the World the example of a Model Republic, free from the vices and inconsistencies which disgrace our own, this sublime act cannot be undone! If the Revolution go backward and perish, it will leave a monument more durable than arch or column, and which will preserve its memory as long as the race of Africa remains upon the earth.

The folly of a plan of preparation for the possession of himself by man, however long deprived of his self-ownership, was again signally illustrated by the history of the Danish West Indies. We related last year the particulars of the Emancipation of the Danish Slaves by the late King Christian, on the 18th of September, 1847, and we prophesied a speedy termination of the four years' apprenticeship, with which he had clogged his gift of liberty. Accordingly, when the movement in men's minds which has made this year memorable in the annals of the world, reached these dependencies, the apprentices, or "unfree," grew impatient for the full possession of their



rights. Movements of an insurrectionary nature took place, which were terribly exaggerated by the fears of the whites, conscious of the terrible arrears which they owed to their former slaves. But their true character may be inferred from the statement of the white party itself, that not one white man had perished during the disturbances, while numbers of negroes had been shot down in the field or by military execution. The result, however, was the proclamation of immediate and unconditional freedom to all the blacks. This proclamation of Governor General Van Scholten to the Slaves in St. Croix, St. Johns, and St. Thomas, dated July 3d, is as follows :

1. All unfree in the Danish West India Islands are from to-day emancipated.
2. The estate negroes retain for three months from date the use of the houses and provision grounds of which they have hitherto been possessed.
3. Labor is in future to be paid for by agreement, but allowance to cease.
4. The maintenance of old and infirm, who are not able to work, is, until farther determination, to be furnished by the late owners.

The manner in which this announcement was received by the negroes is thus recorded in the St. Thomas Times, and is a sufficient refutation of all Pro-Slavery constructions of the outbreaks of the natural love of liberty, under circumstances favorable to its recovery :

It becomes our pleasing duty to record in this number of our journal, that by a Proclamation dated July 3, issued by his Excellency Governor General Peter Von Scholten, all slaves in the Danish West India Islands are emancipated. The lively joy with which the boon was received by the unfree in this Island can easily be imagined ; but we are happy to state that, although the decree was sudden and so unexpected, no other sounds were heard but those of rejoicing and thankfulness.

So much for the dangers of Immediate Emancipation, and for the necessity of Gradual Preparation for Liberty !

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Fourteenth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held on Tuesday, May 9th, in the Tabernacle in New

York. It was fully attended by members of the Society and by the public, and was addressed, first, by the President, Mr. Garrison, on taking the Chair, and afterwards by Mr. Theodore Parker, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass. All of these speeches were full of the peculiar characteristics of ability, and the unction of a wise enthusiasm, which mark the speakers. They were received with great approbation, and read, when reported, with general admiration. The business meetings of the Society were held at the Minerva Rooms, for three days, and each day exceeded its yesterday in the interest of the subjects brought before them, the ability with which they were discussed, and judgment with which they were disposed of. The whole field of Anti-Slavery doctrine and duty was gone over, the testimonies of the Society reiterated in the ears of the Church, the State, and the Parties, and plans and means arranged for carrying on the agitation of the current year. The attendance of members was unusually large, and all seemed to go up to their homes comforted and encouraged.

## THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

This Convention held its sessions this year at the Melodeon during the day, and in Faneuil Hall in the evening. The members in attendance, both from the ranks of the Abolitionists, and from the world outside of them, gave encouraging evidence of a continually increasing interest in the subject which calls it annually into being. It began on the 30th of June and continued through three days and evenings. An extremely bad day had its necessary effect on the numbers of the first day and evening; but they were notwithstanding large. The attendance on the two last days and evenings was as large as the halls, where the Convention met, could hold. On the first evening, Messrs. Charles C. Burleigh, William H. Channing, and Frederick Douglass, made excellent speeches. That of Mr. Douglass was uncommonly felicitous, and called forth thunders of applause. On the second evening, Messrs. William W. Brown, Theodore Parker, and Wendell Phillips, spoke in their very best manner. On the third evening, Faneuil Hall was overflowing with a sea of "upturned faces"—the tide having

gone on swelling, as usual on Anti-Slavery occasions, higher and higher to the last. The audience, too, was not entirely a friendly one, and there was evidence of the presence of elements which might easily be roused into a storm. Mr. Pillsbury, however, got the ear of the audience, and held it, though not without interruption, to the end of his speech. Mr. Remond, who followed him, was received with entire respect and listened to with unbroken attention, or broken only by applause. As it is not many years since this gentleman was hooted down in this very place, for no reason but his complexion, we could not but accept this circumstance as a sign of a changing public sentiment. Mr. Garrison followed in a happy commentary upon this sympathy, on the part of such an audience, with the extreme opinions expressed by Mr. Remond, as to the right of forcible recovery of their rights by the Slaves. Mr. Phillips closed the session with a brief but pungent speech, full of eloquent statements and witty illustrations, showing the absolute positions and relative attitudes of the Abolitionists, of the Parties, and of the Nation, before the world and towards each other. We believe that this Convention was surpassed by none of its predecessors, in the interest of its discussions, the importance of its topics, or the extent of its influence.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

After the last Annual Meeting we continued our operations in the lecturing field, under the direction of our General Agent, Mr. May, as extensively and thoroughly as the means placed at our disposal would permit. Besides Mr. May we employed regularly Messrs. Pillsbury, Brown and Moody, — in addition to whom we had occasionally, the invaluable services of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, who gave such a share of their time as they could spare from their private duties. Mr. John S. Jacobs, formerly a slave, also did the cause good service by the indefatigable zeal and excellent judgment with which he gave himself to it. Towards the time of the New England Convention we enjoyed, for a short season, the valuable labors of Mr. Charles C. Burleigh. Mr. Henry C. Wright lent us, also, at that time, and on other occasions during the year, the free-will offering of his life and talents, which he has devoted to the cause of Human Redemp-

tion. Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Buffum and other Abolitionists rendered occasional but most welcome assistance at this period, as well as at others, of the year. As large a number of public meetings was held by these friends as was compatible with the time at their command. This series of meetings extended nearly until the New England Convention and, no doubt, largely contributed to the signal success of that gathering.

At the New England Convention a plan was proposed, and funds raised, to set on foot a series of One Hundred Conventions to agitate in the State the question of Dissolution, and especially in view of the recent illustration of the value of the Union, shown in the case of the Pearl captives and their generous helpers, Drayton and Sayres. This plan was carried out by the General Agent with singular completeness, considering his very limited supplies of men and money. Two series of Conventions were held, one in the Eastern and the other in the Western part of the State, and an almost continual agitation of the question of Slavery was kept up from that time to this, and from Cape Cod to the hills of Berkshire. Besides Messrs. Pillsbury and Brown and Mr. and Mrs. Foster, the General Agent had the assistance of Miss Lucy Stone, who commended herself to the warm regard of all who knew her by the devotedness of purpose, the thoroughness of preparation, the intrepidity of utterance and the gentleness of demeanor which she brought with her to her chosen lot. We regard the acquisition of the services of this young lady as of very high value to the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause. Mr. Ballou, also, contributed a large portion of his valuable time and labor to the promotion of this movement. Dr. Hudson, Mr. Remond, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Hayden, and others, gave assistance to a greater or less extent, but always valuable and valued. The range of these Conventions included almost every district of the State, and occasionally passed the lines into Maine and New Hampshire. The influence of so many words of truth and freedom cannot fail to be beneficent and lasting.

The Hundred Conventions were not without that seal of the genuineness of the truths they proclaimed which is set upon hated truths by the opposition of brutal violence. At Harwich, upon Cape Cod, on Sunday, August 28th, one of the most

ferocious mobs which have ever disgraced the country, not surpassed in furious violence even by those of 1835—6, was encountered. A numerous assembly was convened in the open air, and many of the harshest truths touching the political complicity of the North with Slavery had been heard with comparative patience. But when the case of a master of a vessel, a member of a Baptist Church in good and regular standing, who had received a hundred dollars of a slave as the consideration of bringing him to the North, and then returned both slave and money to the master, receiving a portion of the latter as his reward, when the case of this devout captain, who was present and admitted and justified his conduct, came up for consideration, and was commented upon in the terms it deserved by Messrs. Pillsbury and Foster and Miss Stone, the zeal of the defenders of the Faith could no longer be restrained. A party of devout men, fresh from the droppings of the sanctuary, headed by an Orthodox church-member, exclaiming, full of holy indignation at Mr. Foster's thunders of denunciation against *such* a religion, "It is a lie! It is a d——d lie! I'll defend the church!" rushed upon the platform and hurled the offenders to the ground, in the most savage and brutal manner. The injuries received by them were fortunately less serious than was intended; but it was through no good will of the pious assailants that they escaped without injury to life or limb. The meeting was, of course, broken up; but we have faith to believe that such a conclusion will be longer remembered, and have a more awakening effect, than the most elaborate discourse or the most animated discussion.

Early in the year, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society felt itself compelled to discontinue the extensive system of Conventions which it had held in the State of New York for nearly two years, with good general effect. About the same time an arrangement was made with Mr. James Russell Lowell, by which the Standard has had the advantage of the brilliant and pointed productions of his pen as Corresponding Editor. The Standard, conducted with singular industry and great editorial ability by Mr. Gay, who has now had it in charge for more than half the period of its existence, has continued to deserve the confidence and support of the Anti-Slavery public, as its organ of communication with the

world. We trust and believe that it will continue to enjoy both as long as the Anti-Slavery movement is needed. An Anti-Slavery visit to the State of New York, made last summer, by Adin Ballou and Dr. Hudson, was attended, we are assured, with rewarding and encouraging success. The North Star, the establishment of which we recorded last year, has continued to be conducted by Mr. Douglass, assisted by Dr. Delany and Mr. John Dick, with much talent and discretion. The editors have devoted a considerable portion of the year to an attempt to make it the organ of the colored people and to place it upon a sure foundation in their confidence and support. In this plan, and for their general success, they have our most cordial good wishes.

In other portions of the country the pure gospel of Abolitionism has been preached with zeal and constancy. The Eastern Pennsylvania Society have conducted the agitation in their own State and in Delaware, to the extent of their means, with their accustomed fidelity and in their usual spirit. In the West the Bugle has continued to give no uncertain sound, and has marshalled the hosts as fearlessly and uncompromisingly as in times past. The Western Anti-Slavery Society held a successful Anniversary, and there has been no small amount of work done in that region, when we consider the extent of the field and the fewness of the laborers. The true and tested Abolitionists of Ohio enjoyed for some time the services of Henry C. Wright and Charles C. Burleigh who labored, unwearied and indefatigable in their vocation. We cannot doubt that the seed thus scattered will yet germinate and bring forth a hundred fold. A National Convention was held at Cleveland in Ohio, last October, of delegates of the colored people of the United States. It was large in numbers, and its deliberations characterized by dignity and ability which won for it the respect even of the Pro-Slavery inhabitants of the region in which it was held. Mr. Douglass presided over it and the Address and Resolutions that emanated from it bore an impress of talent and good sense such as must help to elevate the race in the opinion of the hostile world around them, as well as to produce the immediate effect upon themselves which was the object of the Convention.

## PUBLICATIONS.

During the past year several valuable publications have made their appearance. Mr. Wright put forth last summer a little work, containing a parallel between Richard Crowninshield, the Assassin, and Zachary Taylor, the General. Although this work was more immediately intended as a Peace Tract, it may also be fairly numbered among Anti-Slavery publications, from its tendencies and its connections. Mrs. Jane Elizabeth Jones, of the Ohio Bugle, also published a small volume, entitled "The Young Abolitionists." Its object is to present the facts and arguments of the Anti-Slavery Cause in an attractive and *understandable* shape for the use of children. The conversational form into which the matter is thrown takes away from it the didactic formality of a set treatise, and yet it embodies the substance of Anti-Slavery doctrine and discipline, in a perspicuous manner. Mrs. Jones's idea is one somewhat new, as applied to Anti-Slavery truth; but it is a valuable and judicious one, and is well carried out. All the various aspects of the cause are presented, and made obvious to the understanding of the young; and children of a larger growth would do well to review their experience in this well-arranged Compend. All who are acquainted with the character or the writings of Mrs. Jones need not be told that her doctrine is of the most thorough and orthodox school of Anti-Slavery, and that her style is simple, eloquent, and energetic. The Anti-Slavery public is under obligations to her for this supply of a deficiency in their children's books.

Mr. William I. Bowditch, last summer, published in a separate pamphlet an article of his which appeared in the Massachusetts Quarterly, on the great question, "Does the Constitution of the United States, when rightly interpreted, support Slavery?" Mr. Bowditch clears away the clouds of dust which have been raised for the purpose of blinding the eyes of the people, with much ability, and makes the whole way so clear, that the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein. He has dealt with his subject like a lawyer, a man of common sense, and an honest man. He places the Pro-Slavery character of the Constitution in the clear light in which its own terms, the constructions of the courts, and the consent of the people, had combined

to place it, until certain ingenious gentlemen chose to signalize the keenness of their optics, *not* by "seeing what was not to be seen," *but* by refusing to see what was plain as the sun at noon-day to all eyes but theirs.

## FOURTH OF JULY AND FIRST OF AUGUST.

The Great National Holiday, representing a great Idea of Resistance to Oppression, but most sadly yet ludicrously perverted in its frantic celebration by a Nation of Oppressors, was fitly honored by this Society, in the beautiful grove at Abington, which we have before described as the scene of Anti-Slavery Assemblies. The day was fine and the concourse very great. Mr. Garrison was called to the Chair, and addressed the meeting, together with Messrs. Phillips, Pillsbury, Brown, Buffum, Johnson, Miss Stone, and others. The highest Anti-Slavery ground was taken and maintained, the position of the Old Parties exposed, and the attitude of the New One illustrated. It was one of the most successful and happy Anti-Slavery Assemblages ever held. This custom of redeeming the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence from the fulsome falsehood of its usual commemoration, we rejoice to find obtaining among Abolitionists in all parts of the country, and we hope that it may become general and universal.

The Celebration of the First of August was held this year at Lynn, with the most entire success. Mr. Buffum was called to the Chair, and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. Quincy, Robinson, of Bermuda, Brown, Stone, of Salem, Shackford, Phillips, Miss Stone, and others. The weather was very fine, and the attendance from all parts of the State, but particularly from Boston and the County of Essex, was very large. We were happy to see that the colored population of Boston, Salem, and their neighborhoods, so generally made this a holiday for themselves and their children. A very large proportion, much larger than is usually seen on any like occasion, of the assembly, were of African descent. And, certainly, in appearance, dress, manners, and deportment, they would have been a credit to any holiday party in any part of the world. It was very satisfactory to have before our eyes so unequivocal an answer to the common assumption of the insufficiency of that



race to take care of themselves. They are, many of them, living examples of success in the pursuit of competence, intelligence, and respectability, under difficulties of no common severity.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

The usual liberal contributions to the necessities of the Anti-Slavery cause have been received through the labors of the Anti-Slavery women of Massachusetts and the Country. Anti-Slavery Bazaars have been held in various parts of the Country, and with a success that was truly rewarding and encouraging. In the Spring, a Fair of great brilliancy and success was held at Worcester, which brought more than a thousand dollars into the treasury of the Slave, and was of great incidental advantage in creating an interest in the cause in that city. The National Bazaar at Faneuil Hall, during the week preceding and following Christmas, equalled any of its predecessors in the beauty of its arrangements and the value of its articles for sale. It showed no diminution in the zeal of the women, either of America or of the British Islands, for this work of mercy. The weather was extremely unpropitious, but notwithstanding this untoward circumstance, and one or two others of unfavorable aspect, the result nearly approached to that of the most fortunate years. During the evenings of the Fair, Addresses were made by several distinguished Anti-Slavery speakers.

In the conducting of the Bazaar, as well as in other departments of the cause, the absence of some of the earliest, most devoted, and most efficient, of its managers and friends from the country, has been most seriously felt. The presence of friends, whom nothing could dishearten or tire, whose perseverance was only to be equalled by the excellence of their judgment and the unwearied fidelity of their zeal, could not but be sadly missed. We know, however, that their devotion to the cause is not diminished by the distance that separates them from the scene of its toils, and that their services to it are changed only, not lost. The intelligence of their welfare will ever bring the warmest pleasure to many hearts, and the day of their restoration to their country and their friends will be joyfully anticipated and gratefully welcomed.

Fairs have been held during the year in various other places — West Winfield, Philadelphia, Rochester, Weymouth, Centreville, and elsewhere ; in some places with distinguished success, and in all, we believe, with satisfactory results. We see no symptom of flagging interest or decaying zeal among the women who have given themselves to the accomplishment of the Great Deliverance of the land. They have shown their faith by their works.

## THE CHURCH.

The relations of the Church, as a mass, as embodied in its Great National Sects, and even in most of the smaller denominations, towards the Slave and his advocates, remain much as they have been in times past. The American Church is still the Bulwark of American Slavery, behind which the monster stalks and is safe. But that the spreading influences of Anti-Slavery truth are being seen more and more in the action of churches and ecclesiastical connections, and of individual ministers, we are happy to acknowledge. But these exceptions are only of that class which prove the truth of the general rule.

The Ministers of the Free-Will Baptist Denomination, last Spring, put forth a Protest and Declaration of Sentiments on the Subject of Slavery. It was signed by 616 ministers, and expressed views and resolutions which, if enforced and lived out, would go far towards exonerating the Connexion from the guilt of sustaining Slavery. After describing the nature of Slavery, and stating the reasons which made such a public demonstration proper and necessary, the Protest goes on to say :

We, therefore, by refusing to support Slavery, its principles or its advocates, and by withholding Christian and Church fellowship from all guilty of the sin of Slavery, and by remembering those in bonds as bound with them, would wish to wash our hands from the guilt of this iniquity.

This may be made to include, by a proper definition of the "advocates," and of those "guilty of the sin of Slavery," all that Anti-Slavery duty can require of an Ecclesiastical Body. We trust that the Free Will Baptist ministers will prove by their walk and conversation, the sincerity and intelligence of these their words of Protest and Resolution.

Early in the year was published a letter from a number of Unitarian Ministers in Ireland, in reply to one inviting them to attend the last Anniversary Meeting of the Unitarian Association, in Boston. It spoke distinctly, though with sufficient mildness, of the sin of Slaveholding, and of the prejudice against color, and exhorted their brethren to be faithful in these regards. Though we could have desired a voice of louder remonstrance and keener rebuke, in view of the enormity of the sins in question and the shortcomings of those addressed, still we believe it will not be without its appropriate influence.

At the last Annual Convention of Congregational Ministers, in May, the Rev. Dr. Lowell introduced the question of Slavery in an earnest and eloquent speech, and moved the following Resolution :

*Resolved*, That a Committee of nine be appointed to prepare a Report, to be presented at the next Annual Meeting of this Convention, containing a brief history of the rise and progress of Slavery in our country, a view of the responsibility of the Free States in regard to it, and a calm and temperate, but solemn and earnest appeal to the community on this momentous subject.

The Resolution passed with little or no opposition, and in our next Report we shall probably have to report the result of their labors.

The Old School Assembly of Presbyterians have been tried, during the past year, by the truths on the subject of Slavery, and the countenance given to it by the Church, which the Irish Presbyterians, and even the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, felt compelled to utter. Its answers in both cases were tart and laconic, virtually telling the Foreign Brethren that they were meddling with what was none of their business, that their arguments were familiar to their minds long ago, and that they continue to believe their own course in this respect to be "strictly conformable to the example and teachings of the Bible, and to have been approved of Heaven" in its effects on Slavery. From the tone of these Epistles we should infer that the Ecclesiastical Connection between Presbyterianism in the Old and the New World would soon come to an end. We trust that it will terminate with a publicity and emphasis that will help to startle into action whatever there may be of latent vitality in American Presbyterianism.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held its Annual Meeting in Boston, in September. Its action did not belie the account we have given on former occasions of its character and spirit. This great Representative Body of the Congregational Churches of America, has not withdrawn its former endorsement of the Christian character of Slavery; but, on the contrary, it has renewed it. Its action when stripped of the coat of many-colored words in which its spiritual Fathers have decked it, amounts simply to this,—that the Board does not regard the act of holding human beings as property, as essentially sinful, or sufficient cause, in itself, for exclusion from the Christian church. The abuses of the institution, to be sure, it regards with all proper horror, and would have discipline exercised towards them; but the relation of master to slave is not only not necessarily sinful, it is often innocent, and may be beneficent and virtuous. What more do Slavery and Slaveholders ask? Who defends the abuses of Slavery? What can any Slaveholder desire more than the admission that his ownership of his equal brethren is not necessarily a violation of fundamental morality and rudimental Christianity? Grant him these premises, and he will draw logical conclusions enough to answer all his purposes.

What Slaveholders most desire and need is respectability for their system; or, at least, for themselves acting under it. They have the slaves and the wealth, and the personal and political power which the holding of slaves implies under our institutions. But besides these, they want the recognition of their Republican and Christian character. The first of these is conceded by all political parties that act with them in national organizations; and, indeed, by all acting with them under the existing Constitution, in a national character. The last is secured by the baptism bestowed upon Slavery by the great national sects; by the invitation to it to sit at the communion table with them, and even to mount their pulpits and break unto them the Bread of Life. The A. B. C. F. M. is composed of the flower of the chiefest sect of the Free States. Its leading clergymen and most eminent laymen, Governors, Chancellors and Judges, constitute the close corporation in whose hands is lodged all the legislative and executive power, while any friend of Missions, by a pecuniary contribution, may

be constituted an Honorary and Advisory Member. Its Corporate members are one hundred and eighty, and its Honoraries five or six thousand in number. This mere statement sufficiently expresses the weight which the embodied opinion of such an assembly must have upon the public mind when expressed, *pro or con*, upon such a matter as Slavery. Its business is to send the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth, and to bring all Mankind to the knowledge of Christian truth. It is generally supposed, of course, that its members know what Christian truth is, and what it is that constitutes the Christian character. When it refuses, therefore, to include Slaveholding in the catalogue of *mala in se*, and Slaveholders in the list of transgressors who are to be cast out unless they confess and forsake their sins, they Christianize the one, and fraternize, or "fellowship," with the other. It is all either can reasonably ask.

It is an observable and a significant fact, that for years Slavery has obtruded itself, in spite of all efforts to be rid of it, into the most prominent place at the Annual Meetings of the Board. This year, nearly the whole of the time devoted to the discussion of business, apart from the raising of funds, was consumed by this insatiable intruder. The grisly spectre again took its seat at the head of the Board, and would be seen and heard of all men. The occasion of its apparition was on this wise: The Missionaries to the Cherokees and Choctaws having been accustomed to admit Slaveholders to the Church, and having employed the labor of slaves in their households and boarding-schools, and even having purchased and held slaves, (for their own good, of course,) a stir was made about it several years ago, which has had the effect of making the Annual Meeting a sort of Anti-Slavery Debating Society ever since. As the change in the public mind, wrought by the agitation of the Anti-Slavery Societies, was too great to permit the perfunctory suppression of the element of disturbance, the grand aim has always been to put off the evil day when the Board would have to take decided ground in the premises. Last year positive information was promised at this meeting, as one of the Secretaries was to be sent on an errand of investigation. But though the ambassador was returned, and though the exact state of things was fully developed, the Board was no nearer definite action than before. Besides the Report of Mr. Treat, setting

forth the facts just stated, letters from the Missionaries themselves, giving their sense of the matter, were in the case, as well as the reply of the Prudential Committee.

The letters of the Missionaries were in the true strain of Slaveholding insolence. If they had lived in the parish of J. C. Calhoun, instead of among outlying Indians, these gentlemen could not have vindicated the character of the Peculiar Institution with more unction. Of course they thought it a "grievous wrong," and all that; but they could find no prohibition of it by Christ, and they did find a recognition and regulation of it by the Apostles. Were they to be wise above what was written? They had admitted Slaveholders to the Mission churches, and would again; and if the Board chose to withhold its pecuniary aid, why it might. The churches were Congregational churches, and independent of all external control, and would regulate their own affairs. Still, they hoped the Board would continue its aid, and remember that it was a question of a Slaveholding Gospel, or of no Gospel at all, that was at issue, and decide accordingly. Of course, we only give the substance of the documents, in plain English, divested of cant and circumlocution. The Prudential Committee, in reply, humbly ventured to dissent from the Lord Brethren as to the implied sanction of Christ, and the express recognition of the Apostles, of Slavery. Still, they admitted that a distinction was to be made between Slavery and Slaveholding, pointing out cases in which it was innocent and even laudable to hold slaves, and disclaimed the idea that Slaveholding was a necessary bar to church-membership. It was only a circumstance which should excite enquiry as to the character of the applicant,—a *prima facie* case of sin, which might be rebutted by explanatory evidence. The Committee of the Board, with Mr. Frelinghuysen at its head, to which these reports and letters were referred, reported that, inasmuch as the answer of the Missionaries to the reply was not yet received, all action in the premises should be deferred until the next Annual Meeting! One would have thought that the letters themselves were sufficient evidence of the character and qualifications of the Missionaries, and that the only reply the Board needed to make was the withdrawal of their credentials as its ambassadors. By continuing them in its service, after such an exposition of doctrine and practice, it necessarily ad-

mitted both to be evangelically Christian. It placed itself in the same condemnation with them.

The consideration of this Report was the main business of the last day. The only opposition that was made was by President Blanchard, of a College in Illinois, who proposed resolutions embodying the idea that Slaveholding was, in the opinion of the Board, inconsistent with the Christian character, and should be a cause of exclusion from the Church; but without proposing any immediate or definite action. These resolutions, after debate, were rejected with scarcely a dissenting voice. But they were afterwards reconsidered, and the fact of their being offered, reciting them, ordered to be entered on the minutes, chiefly through the influence of the elder Dr. Beecher, who declared that it would be almost fatal to the influence of the Board in the West, should it appear to have rejected resolutions of this character. He did not put it upon the ground that the resolutions were proper to be passed; but that the interests of the Board would suffer, if they should appear to have been summarily rejected. President Blanchard seemed in much the same state of mind, as he expressed his readiness to withdraw them if they were only spread upon the record, so that he should have them to show on his return home. The Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., now of Philadelphia, formerly of New Orleans, and afterwards of the Tabernacle (!), was the only one that came up fairly and handsomely to the defence of Slavery. He condemned the tone of the Secretaries' communication to the Missionaries, as too Anti-Slavery, and maintained (in effect, not literally) that the possession of slaves, far from being *prima facie* evidence of sin, was *prima facie* evidence of holiness. The whole matter was finally passed over to the next Annual Meeting.

One thing was observable, that the low and time-serving ground taken by the Secretaries in their Report, seems to have given entire satisfaction to the dissatisfied parties who originally called for action. The Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, the Editor of the *Emancipator*, expressed his high gratification and entire contentment with a document which contained no condemnation of Slavery as a *malum in se*, but only of its incidental abuses, and refused to declare the robber of his brother's body and soul unfit for the fellowship of the Church of Christ. In this opinion the Rev. Jonathan Curtis, of New Hampshire, concurred. Dr.

Edward Beecher, the famous organizer of guilt out of sin, with an ironical sneer, congratulated these gentlemen for assenting, at this late day, to doctrines which he had been covered with obloquy by them, for proposing in 1845. It would seem, therefore, that peace is at last restored to this Zion, and that henceforth whenever, to use the words of the Special Report of the Prudential Committee, "God is pleased hopefully to renew the hearts of Slaveholding Indians, and, upon giving credible evidence of piety, they are received into the Church," there will be no objection made on the part of their *new-organized* brethren in Christ, to sitting down at the communion-table with them.

But the moral support given by the Board to Slavery, reaches far beyond this petty matter of Slaveholding Indians. Representing a large section of the Religious community, it is the medium through which the sympathies of the evangelically elect flow to the Heathen—to the perishing millions who are daily going down to eternal destruction, for the want of Gospel privileges. But for the Heathen, in their own country, kept Heathen by their own countrymen, who are enabled to do this wickedness through their own political consent and support, they have no pity and no missionaries. 'The domestic institutions of Ceylon and Hindostan, they are willing to attack. They respect those of their own Gospel-favored land. It is distance that lends enchantment to their view of Heathendom. The diameter of the earth is needed for a conductor of their sympathies. Their regard for the unconverted is great in the geographical ratio of the distances they are removed from them. What conclusion can be drawn from all this but the true one, that Slaveholding is not regarded by this great Body of American Piety, as a relation essentially and morally wrong? That it is regarded as one consistent with "vital piety" and a regenerated estate? And can Slavery desire any fuller recognition? These men either do not perceive that Heathenism in the form of the Sum of all Villanies is a proper object for Christian labor, or, knowing it, refuse to extend a helping hand to their neighbor that has fallen among thieves by their own wayside, because of their own participation in the crime. In either case, they are condemned as unfit to be the Evangelizers of the World. We trust that their increasing debt and crippled means may be a sign that this truth is being more and more fully understood.



## THE COUNTRY.

The succession of startling events which have been passing before the gaze of the world on the European continent, is almost enough to make one forget the petty villainies, were it not for their far-reaching issues, of our own land. It is a curious spectacle that the two sides of the Atlantic have presented. In Europe we have seen Nations uprising like Titans, and shaking themselves loose from the mountain-loads of old tyrannies which have crushed them for ages. The crash of thrones, the down-toppling of crowns, the confusion of principalities and powers, all show that the Old things are passing away, and that all things are becoming New. The ideas for which these things have stood have gradually changed, and the signs will soon be seen no more. The substance is altered, and the shadow which it projects must be renewed. The Want is felt, and the Supply will, of necessity, offer itself. The gross, palpable forms of European despotism forced themselves upon the daily life and hourly experience of the Nations, and they will endure them no longer. The power which controlled their destinies and regulated their lives was forever by their side and before their eyes. Its obtrusiveness made it more, hateful than even its tyranny.

In America, on the other hand, we are in that by-gone stage of the European mind when the people worshipped the idols to which they were sacrificed. Time was when kings and kaisers, princes and nobles, were sincerely revered as the sources whence the prosperity which the people won for themselves beneficently flowed. Whatever hard-earned wealth, or safety for person or goods, they enjoyed, they gave the glory of it all to their Institutions, and not to themselves. They are now beginning to discern that whatever *modicum* of social or political blessings they had, was in spite, and not because, of the rulers they had set up, or permitted to rule over them. And so "the Divine Right of Kings to govern wrong" began to be questioned, and at last denied and set at defiance. But here we are still in the mood of bowing down before the image we ourselves have set up. Our priests and rulers are trying even to persuade us that it was not us, but God himself, that ordained it. And we are content to purchase such sort of prosperity and security as

we have, by the burnt-offering of every sixth man in the country. Not seeing that our own most precious moral qualities and political rights are consumed as necessary materials in this sacrifice of our brethren. We have not yet, as a people, begun to discover that it is not to our Institutions, our Constitution and our Union, to which we owe whatever good we have ; but that these stand directly between the sun of our highest (and our lowest) prosperity and us. The *prestige* still exists for us. The pervading despotic principle is more skilfully kept out of view. We are allowed the forms of choice, and the name of power, and are permitted to register the edicts of our Sovereign.

We plume ourselves, in this country, on the priority in point of time of our Revolution, and put down all that have followed it as the effects of which ours was the cause. It may, or may not, have hastened those events ; but it could not have created them. They existed and exist because God has made men as they are, and because the artificial surroundings of men must, of necessity, be moulded and directed by the men themselves. And this remodelling and new direction is what we call Revolution. Men are the Body—Institutions are the Raiment. And Revolutions are as inevitable as growth or as caprice. The child must needs put off his childish attire when he grows into a man,—and the man will fain change the fashion of his garments at the prompting of convenience or of whim. The true wisdom is to enlighten and direct the ever-busy minds of men to that which is absurd or mischievous in their present social habits, and persuade them when they change to change for the better.

Whether our Revolution was the example of others or not, other Revolutions may at least take warning by the event of ours. We could not endure the sceptre of King George, or the supremacy of the British Parliament, and having shaken them off, we delivered ourselves up, bound hand and foot, and by bonds of our own weaving, into the hands of the Slaveholding Philistines. We spurned the Aristocracy of English Acres, and then recognized and built up the Aristocracy of American Flesh and Blood. Power resting on the ownership of Land we abhorred. Power based on the ownership of Human Beings we acknowledged and submitted to. And ever since, and now more than ever, we have been in our National character, the

vassals and serfs of that abominable Oligarchy. Whatever degree of safety or success we may have in some of the subordinate divisions of the country, it is in spite, and not because, of the Covenant which has made us one with the tyrants. From the beginning, its uniform tendency has been to endanger the one and to disturb the other; while the deterioration of our national morals, and the degradation of our national character, have followed our guilty consenting as the night the day. A true Republic the world has never yet seen. That problem still remains to be worked out. And our experience may yet show those who are seeking for that Philosopher's (or Politician's) Stone, that it does not consist in the abnegation of Crowns or the privation of Titles; but that all the realities of tyranny can subsist under all the forms of Freedom. The World, with all its material Civilization, is but approaching the point of advancement which is essential to the Advent of such a perfect Polity. Through much more toil and suffering and blood must the Race endure, before it can achieve this long-deferred Hope of the Ages. But the Faith of the best spirits of all Ages, heralded by prophetic human hearts in all time, and sealed with the blood of martyrs ever since the world began, shall yet be justified and crowned with fruition.

#### THE ABOLITIONISTS.

It has ever been the proud distinction of the Old School Abolitionists, that they have, from the first, taken for their practical maxim — **THE ABSOLUTE RIGHT IS THE HIGHEST EXPEDIENCY.** In this sign have they gone forth, conquering and to conquer. The measure of their success has ever been in proportion to the fidelity with which they have acted up, in their doctrine and their life, to the highest idea of Anti-Slavery duty to which they had attained, at each successive point of their progress, without regard to the promptings of an apparent and superficial Expediency. "Gradual, not Immediate, Emancipation," cried Expediency, "if you would obtain the ear of the people, and hope for their help!" "Immediate Emancipation is the Right of the Slave and the Duty of the Master!" replied Anti-Slavery, "and I will demand nothing less!" And though the land was full of violence, and the people gnashed

upon this truth with their teeth, it finally prevailed, so as now to be almost universally admitted as an axiom in ethics. "Conciliate the Church and the Clergy!" exclaimed Expediency, "or your influence is gone forever!" "Not if they stand hand and hand with Slavery!" answered Anti-Slavery, "let them perish first!" And, though the Clergy and the Church, who had followed after Anti-Slavery, with scarcely an exception, turned and followed after it no more, still its influence even on the Clergy, the Church and religious bodies, increased and multiplied an hundred fold.

And so as to Political Expediency. "Vote, for this time only, for Harrison!" urged Expediency in the Hard Cider Campaign; "vote for the candidate of the North!" "I cannot trust the candidate of the North, whose course and whose pledges are satisfactory to the South," returned Anti-Slavery. "Support Clay, and keep out Texas!" shrieked Expediency in the campaign of 1844, "anybody rather than Polk and Annexation!" "Anybody rather than the fattener of sleek slaves, the impudent defender of Slavery on its merits, the compromiser away of the rights of the North!" responded Anti-Slavery. And Wisdom was justified of her children, in both cases. God said unto Harrison, almost at the very moment he and his partizans were saying unto their souls, "Eat and drink, for thou hast much goods laid up for many years," — "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee!" And he died, and was buried, and John Tyler reigned in his stead! And when the question was raised of resistance to the annexation of Texas, after the accession of Polk, the chiefest supporters of Clay declared that "it was too late!" and that "resistance might be attended with bad results!" Who believes, now, that there was any sincerity in the pretended opposition of Clay and his most prominent partizans to the Annexation? Who would have laughed the credulity of the Abolitionists to scorn more loudly, or at least more heartily, than they, had they succeeded in cajoling them?

Up to about the time of the contest between Clay and Polk, the political action of Abolitionists was governed chiefly by a regard to the relations of the candidates to Slavery, and they opposed them on the ground of the special suit and service they had vowed to it, by their words or by their actions. But about

that time they perceived that the relations of all holders of office to Slavery were, of necessity, if maintained in good faith, those of support and comfort. They discerned that it was of small moment who administered the Constitution of the country, so long as that Constitution makes, in the words of John Quincy Adams, "the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the National Government." They saw that as Abolitionists they could not execute the Pro-Slavery commands of the Constitution, and as honest men they could not swear to perform them, with the deliberate purpose of breaking their oaths. And what they might not do themselves, they clearly could not appoint others, by their votes, to do for them. The only political action that lay open to them was to labor outside of the Constitution, and not within it, for its overthrow. To convince the people that their form of government was the greatest enemy of their safety, their prosperity, and their honor; that all their material prosperity and local advantages were in spite, not because, of their confederate Union; and to persuade them openly and honestly to repudiate the compromise by which they had delivered themselves up, bound in political servitude, to the tender mercies of their natural enemies, and to erect a new government, free from the disturbing and disgraceful element of Slavery, in which the experiment of self-government could be fairly tried.

Just at this point of time, and when affairs are in this posture, the Free Soil Party appears and claims the support of the Abolitionists by virtue of its superior Anti-Slavery pretensions. Its pretensions are specious, and, in fact, include about all that a political party, intending to maintain good faith towards the Constitution, should offer. It proposes to forbid the extension of Slavery in the newly-stolen territories, to abolish it wherever the Constitution will permit, and to confine it to its present Constitutional and territorial limits. Time was when the Abolitionists would have been thankful for thus much, and when, for maintaining thus much, they were mobbed and hunted, whipped and shot, a price set upon their heads, their name cast out as evil, and they persecuted unto strange cities. But their long and hard experience has attained "to something of prophetic strain," and they now plainly perceive that what would

have satisfied them in their days of ignorance, falls very far short of what the necessity of the case demands. They can take no part in a movement which contemplates the recognition of the legal relation of master and slave, anywhere within the Universe of God. They spurn and spit upon the doctrine that any compact can be binding which conditions for the return of a fugitive into the hell of Slavery, and for the forcible suppression of an attempt on the part of the Slaves to vindicate their rights by "an Appeal to Arms and the God of Battles." Their sense of personal honor forbids them to swear to support such a Compact, either personally or by proxy, for the purpose of exerting political power, even for the Slave, with the intention of performing it,—much more with the intention of breaking it. They see in all candidates for the Presidency, to whatever party they may belong, on whatever platform they may stand, by whatever name they may be called, aspirants for the office of Protector of the Institutions of the South, of National Overseer of the American Slaves. If Slavery is to be maintained forever by the National strength within the boundaries of the present Union, which must be the contemplation of every honest Constitutional party, we see no reason why it should not spread over any extent of our territory. As to the strength it would add to the Slave Power, we should rejoice in it. If a strong nation is base and mean enough to consent to hold the chain of the Slave while his tyrant is robbing and torturing him, it can have no share in the degradation of its victim that it will not deserve. From this mean, base, cowardly position, the North, as the stronger party, can recover whenever it chooses to arouse itself and shake into the air the cobweb ties by which it has bound itself to dishonor, cruelty, and degradation. To bring it to a just sense of its condition and its remedy, is the high mission of the Abolitionists. May they feel its gravity and its dignity, and abide, faithful though few, and patient though long-tried, the day of its great Accomplishment!



## TREASURER'S REPORT

*Of Receipts and Disbursements from Jan. 1, 1848, to Jan. 1, 1849.*

By Balance of Old Account, January 1, 1848,.....	\$306 58
From Ladies' National Anti-Slavery Fair,.....	3,219 01
" Legacy of late Henry Chapman,.....	100 00
" Essex County Anti-Slavery Society,.....	10 00
" West Brookfield Anti-Slavery Society,.....	50 00
" Ladies' Second Fair, held at 21 Cornhill,.....	333 37
" Ladies' Fair at Worcester,.....	768 70
" Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society,.....	100 00
" Pledges, Donations, and Collections by Agents and others, at Pic-Nics, Conventions, and of Individuals, during the year, as published monthly in the Liberator,.....	3,644 20
<b>Total Amount of Receipts,</b>	<b>\$8,531 86</b>

*The Disbursements have been as follows:*

Paid Andrews & Prentiss's Bill for Printing,.....	\$27 80
" Treasurer of American Anti-Slavery Society, per orders of the Board,.....	4,570 43
" Office Rent, 21 Cornhill,.....	200 00
" Expenses of Annual Meeting,.....	61 25
" Expense of publishing 500 copies of Annual Report,.....	90 00
" Bill for expense of Worcester Fair, (omitted,).....	3 25
" Expense of Fair at 21 Cornhill,.....	33 37
"     " of New England Convention,.....	76 13
" Bill of Books for Depository,.....	37 50
" Expenses of Pic-Nic at Abington,.....	45 20
"     " of Pic-Nic at Lynn,.....	31 15
" for 50 copies Liberator, sent to Members of Congress, per order of the Board,.....	57 50
" Expenses of sundry Conventions,.....	67 50
"     " of Depository, 21 Cornhill,.....	224 17
" William W. Brown, for Services and Expenses as Agent,.....	515 11
" Dr. Hudson, for     "     "     ".....	45 00
" Adin Ballou, for     "     "     ".....	40 83
" John S. Jacobs, for     "     "     ".....	7 31
" Stephen S. Foster, for     "     "     ".....	271 89
" Samuel May, Jr., for     "     "     ".....	893 04
" Parker Pillsbury, for     "     "     ".....	467 12
" Lucy Stone, for     "     "     ".....	245 15
" Loring Moody, for     "     "     ".....	213 42
" S. Brooke, for     "     "     " Financial Agent,.....	50 14
" William P. Atkinson, for Expenses to Westminster,.....	3 00

<b>Total Amount of Disbursements,</b>	<b>\$8,277 06</b>
<b>Leaving a Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1849, of</b>	<b>254 80</b>
	<b>\$8,531 80</b>

**E. R.**

**SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.**

BOSTON, JAN. 15, 1849.—I have examined the foregoing account, and find it correctly cast and properly vouched. Balance in the Treasurer's hands being two hundred and fifty-four dollars, eighty cents.

EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.



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HENRY I. BOWDITCH,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
JOHN M. SPEAR,	CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,	SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

# APPENDIX.

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## SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Wednesday, Jan. 24.

The Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at eleven o'clock, A. M., who called the meeting to order and gave opportunity for vocal or silent prayer.

*Voted*, That SAMUEL MAY, Jr., CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, and ELIZA J. KENNY, be Assistant Secretaries during the Annual Meeting.

*Voted*, On motion of Wendell Phillips, that the President nominate a Business Committee of seven persons.

The following persons were nominated, and accepted by the Society, as that Committee:—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, ANNE W. WESTON, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, JAMES N. BUFFUM.

The following persons, on motion of S. MAY, Jr., were nominated and chosen a Committee to report a list of Officers of the Society for the year ensuing:—

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., BOURNE SPOONER, OLIVER JOHNSON, JOHN M. FISK, JOHN BAILEY, ABBY K. FOSTER, and EDMUND QUINCY.

*Voted*, That a Committee of four on the Roll and Finance be nominated by the Chair. The following were nominated and chosen.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, SAMUEL BROOKE, JOSHUA T. EVERETT, LEWIS FORD.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, presented his Annual Report, duly audited. The Report was accepted, and will be found in another place.

*Voted*, On motion of WENDELL PHILLIPS, that we now hear the Annual Report of the Board of Managers, or such portions thereof as the Corresponding Secretary shall select.

Mr. QUINCY then read selections from the Report. Notice was given that the Report had been printed and would be ready for delivery to members and others to-morrow.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

1. — *Resolved*, That while we look upon the Free Soil movement as the unavoidable result of our principles and agitation, and hail it, so far as its formation gives proof of the wider spread of a degree of Anti-Slavery feeling in the community, we feel called upon to warn the old friends of our cause, the veterans of so long and fierce a struggle, not to expect too much from the first gropings of a community which as yet sees men but as trees walking — and that we are not to sink the experience of nigh twenty years to suit the views or wait the infant movements of those who have just awaked to our enterprise; that the maintaining of our advanced position is the only security we can have that they will persevere even in their short measure, the only sheet-anchor when this experiment, necessary for their education, has failed, as in its present form it must, the corps of reserve by which alone their broken ranks and disheartened courage are to be succored, and the labors of so many years saved, when this transition period is passed.

2. — *Resolved*, That as the success of the Slave power, in usurping the control of our government, has been owing to its being made the paramount object of a large class in the community, and especially in the Slave States, no effectual resistance can be made to such a conspiracy, but by a party prepared to make resistance to the Slave power the exclusive and paramount object of its existence; and hence we view with alarm and deep regret the course of the Free Soil Party in putting in nomination, in some cases, men who were not prepared to pledge themselves to the support of even their platform of principles, deeming such a course treason to the hopes, and deserving to forfeit the trust, of the Anti-Slavery public.

3. — *Resolved*, That we cannot look upon the Free Soil Party as an Anti-Slavery Party in any proper sense of the term, as no effectual resistance can be made to the Slave-power, except by a party prepared and pledged to trample under foot the compromises of the Constitution; and we look upon any success attending the efforts of the Free Soil movement, as due only to the fear entertained by the South that their candidates will in reality be false to their oaths of office, and ready to make every use covertly of that Anti-Slavery sentiment in the community which far outruns its platform, and has long ago snapped asunder the bonds of the Union.

4. — *Resolved*, That the Church which is in religious fellowship with Slaveholders, or the members of which are in political alliance with Slaveholders, — or which cherishes and exemplifies the spirit of complexional caste, — or which does not make the immediate abolition of

Slavery its special concern, — is not worthy to be recognized as a Church of Christ, has no claim upon human sympathy or respect, and ought to be abandoned by every one as radically defective in Christian principle and character; and whoever continues in willing connexion and conformity with such a Church is to be regarded as an actual supporter of Slavery.

*Voted*, On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, to adjourn to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

### WEDNESDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Society met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

The Resolutions reported in the morning were again read; and on motion of S. MAY, Jr., the first three Resolutions relating to the Free Soil Party, were taken up for consideration.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, objected to the Resolutions that they admitted too much in behalf of the Free Soil Party, and would tend to reconcile the members of that Party to their present position.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, moved that all persons present, whether friendly to this Society and its principles, or not, whether Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery, be invited to take part in the discussions of this meeting. Adopted unanimously.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER moved to re-commit the Resolutions on the Free Soil Party, which was seconded.

E. QUINCY opposed the re-commitment.

Leave being granted, the following Resolution was offered and adopted: —

*Resolved*, That every friend to the Anti-Slavery cause, present at our meeting, be invited to enrol his or her name as a member of this body, and also to give one dollar, or such other sum as is thought proper, towards defraying the expenses of this Annual Meeting.

S. S. FOSTER withdrew his motion to re-commit, and moved to amend the first Resolution by substituting as follows: —

*Resolved*, That we hail with joy the breaking up of the two great political parties of the country, as conclusive evidence of the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiments, even though their sundered fragments may have been re-united on grounds scarcely less Pro-Slavery than that of the parties from which they have been torn.

LEWIS HAYDEN spoke in opposition to the substitution. The discussion was continued by WENDELL PHILLIPS and ABBY K. FOSTER.

At 5 1-4 o'clock, adjourned to 7 o'clock.

## WEDNESDAY—EVENING SESSION.

The Society re-assembled according to adjournment; EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham, in the Chair;—who read the Resolutions before the meeting.

JAMES N. BUFFUM moved to lay the Resolutions on the table, that an opportunity might be afforded to introduce to the audience two recent fugitives from Slavery in Georgia; which motion was carried.

WILLIAM W. BROWN then gave a brief sketch of the interesting and remarkable escape from Slavery of William and Ellen Craft. He read an extract from a New Jersey paper, a correspondent of which had observed this fugitive couple on board of one of the steamboats, and had been struck by something unusual in their appearance. They are quite young; Ellen, the wife, is so nearly white that, by clothing herself in male attire, she was enabled to pass for a white man, while her husband attended her as her servant. In this way they took the principal travelled route, and came to Philadelphia in four days, where they met with many who rejoiced with them in their hazardous but completely successful undertaking.

The husband was a journeyman cabinet-maker, and by industry and prudence had been able to lay by a sum sufficient to meet the expenses of their flight; this, beside paying \$220 annually to his master, and the cost of his own support. These fugitives whose appearance is such as warmly to prepossess every spectator in their behalf, were then invited to the platform, and introduced to the audience. Mr. BROWN said he wished to lay three propositions before the audience, that they might be answered in presence of these fugitives. First, all persons present who would help return a Slave to his bondage, will please to say *yes*. None replied. Second, all who would stand still and do nothing for or against him, will please to say *yes*. None replied.\* Third, all who would aid in protecting, rescuing and saving him from Slavery, will say *yes*. An immense and prolonged assent, reminding one of the "everlasting yea," came up from the meeting.

WILLIAM W. BROWN, himself a fugitive, then sang an Anti-Slavery song, which was much applauded.

HENRY C. WRIGHT moved to take up the Resolutions on the Free Soil Party. This was carried; and Mr. W. addressed the meeting in their support, showing the Pro-Slavery character of the Constitution and that the Free Soil Party goes for supporting the Constitution and maintaining the compromises with Slavery. He showed also the inconsistency of those who had just responded so enthusiastically to W. W. Brown's question, that they would protect and rescue the fugitive Slave, while they supported a Constitution which bound them to deliver up the fugitive.

\* It was said, on the last evening, that one person had faintly said *yes*, to this statement.

Several gentlemen of the Free Soil Party, who were present, were here called upon to speak; but did not.

The discussion was continued by S. S. FOSTER, W. PHILLIPS, and W. L. GARRISON, the first in support of his amendment, the last two in support of the Resolution.

On motion of H. C. WRIGHT, adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

#### THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.

Jan. 25. The Society re-assembled in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment. FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The Resolutions on the Free Soil movement again came up. Mrs. ABBY K. FOSTER defended the amendment offered by S. S. FOSTER. The subject was further discussed by J. T. EVERETT, Mr. OSGOOD, of Salisbury, (the same who came upon our platform last year to defend the Liberty Party,) WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Watertown, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and S. S. FOSTER.

At 1 o'clock, adjourned to 2½ o'clock.

#### THURSDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met again in Faneuil Hall, FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The Committee on the nomination of officers reported, by their Chairman, a list of persons to act as officers of the Society for the ensuing year. Their report was accepted, and the persons therein named were accordingly elected. [This list precedes the Appendix.]

The amendment offered by S. S. FOSTER was rejected. The Resolutions numbered 1, 2, and 3 were then adopted.

*Voted*, To take up the Resolution on the Church. NAHUM OSGOOD spoke in opposition to the Resolution, and in favor of union with the American Church.

JAMES N. BUFFUM replied, and vindicated the soundness and necessity of the Resolution.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke on the same side, and declared himself opposed to everything which went for the enslavement of man, whether Governments, or Churches, or Bibles, or the Gods of this Nation.

WENDELL PHILLIPS moved that the Resolution be laid upon the table, to take up the subject of funds for the future operations of the Society. This was carried, and Mr. PHILLIPS addressed the friends of the cause in an earnest speech for aid.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., introduced the following Resolution and spoke briefly in its support: —

*Resolved*, That in prosecuting the work of the redemption of the Slave, and in our determination to be deterred from that object by no Consti-

tutions, or Party Organizations, or Ecclesiastical combinations whatever, we summon all the true friends of freedom and humanity to come to our aid, and sustain, during the year on which we have entered, that great moral movement, which has laid the axe at the root of Slavery's tree, by their most generous contributions and pledges.

The Committee on Finance then and subsequently received pledges, to be paid within the year, amounting to upwards of seven hundred dollars. They also received, in money, donations amounting to about ninety dollars, besides a sum sufficient to defray all expenses of calling and holding the Annual Meeting.

The Resolution on the Church was again taken up, and Mr. GARRISON made an eloquent exposure of the weak idea which had been advanced that we should go back "to the old Anti-Slavery ground."

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

#### THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, when the Chair was taken by JAMES N. BUFFUM,<sup>a</sup> Vice President.

The Resolution on the Church being before the Society, EDMUND QUINCY spoke in its support.

PARKER PILLSBURY followed in justification of the course of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends in boldly exposing and rebuking the faithless and Pro-Slavery course of the American Churches. He spoke of the influence of those Churches as on the wane.

WENDELL PHILLIPS took a different view from Mr. PILLSBURY of the influence of the Churches, and commended the energy, perseverance, and ability with which they labored for the ends they sought. He acknowledged their bigotry, and condemned their course on the subject of Slavery, and would not regard them as Christian Churches; but he said they were enemies not to be thought of lightly, and Abolitionists might learn a useful lesson from them of dauntless and unwearied self-devotion.

Mr. PHILLIPS, before taking his seat, again introduced WILLIAM and ELLEN CRAFT, the Georgia fugitives, to the meeting. They were received with even more hearty and prolonged cheering than on the evening previous.

The case of these fugitives occupied the attention of the meeting the remainder of the evening. JAMES N. BUFFUM, HENRY C. WRIGHT, W. L. GARRISON, and LUCY STONE addressed the audience. Miss STONE spoke in an uncommonly eloquent and touching strain.

At a late hour, adjourned to Friday morning, 10 o'clock.

#### FRIDAY — MORNING SESSION.

The Society met again in Faneuil Hall; FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The Resolution on the Church being the subject before the Society, it was spoken to by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and PARKER PILLSBURY.

Its adoption was moved by S. S. FOSTER.

SEWARD MITCHELL moved to amend the resolution by substituting the following:—

*Resolved*, That as the American Church has been fully proved to be the bulwark of Slavery, we believe the time has come when it should be destroyed, root and branch, as of no use to the people and a curse to every cause of moral reform.

After remarks by Mr. MITCHELL, and JOHN C. CLUER, the amendment, on motion of EDWIN THOMPSON, was laid on the table.

The question was then taken on the original Resolution (that numbered 4,) and adopted without a dissenting vote.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER introduced the following Resolution, and advocated it at length:—

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Society it is expedient to organize a system of measures designed to array its friends at the ballot-boxes, there to vote for men pledged to take no oath to the Constitution of the United States, and to use all their influence to dissolve the Union.

Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

#### FRIDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, when the Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Resolution offered in the morning, by S. S. FOSTER, came up, and was supported by W. JENKINS, of Andover, and opposed by W. L. GARRISON.

On motion of E. QUINCY the Resolution was laid on the table.

CHARLES STEARNS offered the following Resolution, and supported it in some very earnest remarks respecting the sufferings of many of the laboring people of the North:—

*Whereas*, The rights of the laborer at the North are identified with those of the Southern Slave, and cannot be obtained as long as chattel Slavery rears its hydra-head in our land; and whereas the same arguments which apply to the situation of the crushed Slave are also in force in reference to the condition of the Northern Laborer, although in a less degree; Therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is equally incumbent upon the working men of the North to espouse the cause of the emancipation of the Slave, and upon Abolitionists to advocate the claims of the free laborer.

JOHN C. CLUER attributed the greater part of the sufferings of the Northern laboring people, and especially of the poor Irish, to a too free use of intoxicating drinks. He said he had paid much attention to these



subjects, viz: the rights of the laborer, and temperance, and he spoke with full assurance of the truth of what he said.

Mr. STEARNS's Resolution was adopted, and the Society adjourned to 7 o'clock.

### FRIDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society met according to adjournment, in Faneuil Hall; FRANCIS JACKSON, President, in the Chair.

Mr. GARRISON, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions:—

5. — *Resolved*, That the one great object to be attempted and achieved, to secure the emancipation of our enslaved countrymen — to assert and protect the rights of the people of the North — and to impose the awful criminality involved in the Slave system exclusively upon the incorrigible tyrants of the South, is, **THE IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION** — a Union based on the prostrate bodies of three millions of the people, and cemented with their blood — a Union which gives absolute power and perfect security to the wholesale traffickers in human flesh, by its combined military and naval power, and the overthrow of which would inevitably burst asunder the chain of every bondman — a Union in which freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition and safe and equal locomotion, are cloven down, and the citizens of one portion of the country are seized for no alleged crime in another portion, hurried to prison, kept in chains, plundered of their property, and in numerous instances sold on the auction block at public vendue as Slaves, in lots to suit purchasers.

6. — *Resolved*, That in openly and unequivocally advocating Slavery as a just, beneficent, and democratic institution, JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, is to be commended for his frankness and directness; that for his earnestness, consistency, intrepidity, and self-sacrifice, in defending and seeking to extend and perpetuate what he thus professes to regard as superlatively excellent, he is equally to be commended; and that he stands in honorable contrast, and is incomparably to be preferred to those Northern time-servers and dough-faces, who professedly look upon Slavery with abhorrence, and yet are found ever ready to compromise the sacred principles of liberty, to betray the rights of the people of the North, and on bended knee to worship the Slave power of the South.

They were supported by W. L. GARRISON, and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

JOHN C. CLUE asked leave (which was granted,) to read to the meeting an account of a Catholic Slave girl in Georgetown, D. C., who was soon to be sold to the South if not redeemed. A man was said to be now in Boston, raising money to purchase her freedom. Mr. C. also asked

leave to take up a collection in the meeting to aid this object; this was agreed to, and the sum of \$17,34 was contributed.

WILLIAM W. BROWN advocated the Resolutions and declared that he could do no less than make war upon a Constitution and Union which made a chattel of him, and utterly refused to acknowledge his right to freedom or to protect him in it. He referred to the two fugitives from Slavery, who had attended some of our previous meetings, and again introduced them to the audience, who received them with enthusiastic greetings. Mr. BROWN again gave a sketch of their method of projecting and executing their bold attempt.

WENDELL PHILLIPS referred eloquently to the case of these interesting fugitives. He said that we should look in vain through the most trying times of our Revolutionary history for an incident of courage and noble daring to equal that of the escape of William and Ellen Craft; and future historians and poets would tell this story as one of the most thrilling in the nation's annals; and millions would read it with admiration of the hero and heroine of the story, and would have wished that *they* could have lived to take part in the glorious struggle of freedom and justice and humanity, against Slavery, fraud and tyranny. Mr. Phillips closed with reading the Petition to the Massachusetts Legislature (now in session,) for a secession from the Union, and called upon all who were not mere hearers, but doers, to come up and sign and circulate this petition.

MR. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, then reported the following Resolution:—

7. — *Resolved*, That if, in the earlier days of our Anti-Slavery struggle, the utmost zeal and alacrity were wisely and effectively shown by Abolitionists in circulating petitions for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the repeal of all laws in this Commonwealth in derogation of the rights of our colored population, it is incomparably more important, now, that they should manifest at least as much zeal and alacrity in circulating, for popular signature, the petition to the Legislature for the immediate secession of Massachusetts from a Union in which she is held as a vassal, and which serves only to pollute and degrade her.

*Voted*, That the question be now taken on the three resolutions reported this evening.

The question was then taken on the Resolutions separately, and they were unanimously adopted.

*Voted*, To adjourn, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,	} <i>Assistant Secretaries.</i>
C. BRAMHALL,	
ELIZA J. KENNY,	



**EIGHTEENTH**

**ANNUAL REPORT,**

**PRESENTED TO THE**

**Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,**

**BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,**

**JANUARY 23, 1850.**

**WITH AN APPENDIX.**

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# REPORT.

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ANOTHER year of American History is completed. A year full of those examples by which a true philosophy teaches and warns the nations. Examples of the watchfulness and activity of eager Tyranny surprising and overreaching the sloth and sluggishness of careless Liberty. Examples of the victorious march of a compact minority, welded together by the bands of a common crime, and of the tame submission of clumsy and undisciplined majorities too dull of eye to see, and too cold of heart to feel, that they sold their own birthright when they thought but to have bargained away that of their brother for a mess of pottage for themselves. And the year that is just elapsed is not without its lessons of the growing potency of resolute and disinterested Protest against National Crime, of the cowardice of Wickedness, even when it holds the High Places of a Nation, and of the awakening power of the voice of Heart calling unto Heart, breaking the silence in which Oppression and Wrong delight to dwell. To glance at the demonstrations of these natural Antagonisms which the last year has witnessed, is all that we can pretend to do in the space to which we must limit ourselves. And even this must be done in the most cursory and perfunctory manner, so rapidly have Events glided before our eyes, each eloquent in itself and prophetic of others yet to be evolved from the darkness of Futurity. This sketch of the present relations of Slavery with the State and Church of America, is essential to the due understanding of the relations of Anti-Slavery with both, and of the performance of those duties which you have appointed us to perform.

## CONGRESS.

At the time when our last Report broke off, the excitement in Congress occasioned by the Preamble and Resolution of Mr. GOTT, of New York, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia, was at its height. These were as follows :

"Whereas, the traffic now prosecuted in this Metropolis of the Republic in human beings as chattels, is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of Republican Liberty among the Nations of the earth. Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a Bill, as soon as practicable, prohibiting the Slave Trade in said District."

They had been passed by a vote of 98 to 87, but they came up again on the 9th of January, on a motion of Mr. STUART, of Michigan, to reconsider, which gave rise to a protracted and excited debate, but was refused by an almost strictly sectional vote. About the same time a petition was voted and signed by the Mayor and Council of the City of Washington, asking Congress to restrain the importation of Slaves into the District of Columbia for purposes of sale and traffic elsewhere, as prejudicial to the interests of the city and offensive to public sentiment, or to be empowered to make such restriction themselves. This petition, though certainly coming within the scope of the municipal duties of those Civic Authorities, and though it did not contemplate the Abolition of Slavery or of the sale of Slaves actually in the District, was smothered through the remonstrances of his Southern friends, by Major Gaines, of Kentucky, to whom it was entrusted. Imperfect as this action of the City of Washington was, it may be accepted as a proof of progress, and a promise of better things to come.

On the 31st of January, Mr. EDWARDS, from the Committee on the District, in compliance with Mr. GOTT's Resolution, introduced a Bill prohibiting the introduction of Slaves into the District for hire or trafficking in the same. Mr. HARALSON, of Georgia, moved to lay it on the table, which was rejected by 117 nays to 71 yeas. It gave rise to one of the many debates of which Slavery was the theme, but finally went to the Com-

mittee of the Whole on the State of the Union, in which it was never reached. A result probably contemplated when it was thus disposed of.

Another occasion of Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery debate and excitement, was the Bill passed on the 28th of December, 1848, authorizing the payment of \$1,000 to the heirs of Antonio Pacheco, as compensation for a Slave, removed with the Seminole Indians, by General Jessup. Mr. GIDDINGS moved the reconsideration of this Bill, and made one of his most powerful speeches on the subject of Slavery in general. Though the reconsideration prevailed, still the Bill was finally passed, Jan. 19th, by a vote of 106 to 92. This question involved the fundamental principle of the Right of Property in Man, and gave occasion to discussions far transcending the immediate importance of the case in hand, and which were well worth the time they consumed.

The question of the Governments to be erected for the new Territories which were to be carved out of our Mexican land plunder, of course furnished another opportunity for Slavery to evince its sleepless vigilance. A Bill was introduced into the House early in January, creating the Territorial Governments, and excluding Slavery. It passed the House, but came to nothing in the Senate. Attempts were made to arrange Governments for the Territories, and especially for California, by amendment to the General Appropriation Bill, in the Senate. The amendment was rejected by the House, and the Senate finally receded from its amendment at the last gasp of the Session, rather than block the wheels of the Government by a refusal of the supplies. The petition of New Mexico for a Government forbidding the establishment of Slavery and the Slave Trade, was treated with contempt in the Senate, as an impertinent attempt on the part of a vanquished province, to dictate to its conqueror. The best terms that Liberty could gain were that the Territories should be left without any authorized Governments, at all. An arrangement which does not seem to have militated against the prosperity of those countries, however much it may have interfered with the golden hopes of expectant office-seekers. The impudent claim of Texas upon a large portion of New Mexico, as belonging to her, is still enforced, and it is by no means certain that Slavery will not be



thus juggled into the possession of a domain from which Mexican humanity and Catholic Piety had banished it.

Since the adjournment of Congress, California has taken the matter of her Government into her own hands, and has constructed a Constitution, which, by the unanimous vote of the Convention that framed it, expressly excludes Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, from her soil. Doubts of the sincerity of this action have been reasonably entertained; arising, in a great measure, from the character of Messrs. GWYNNE and THOMAS B. KING, the latter a Pennsylvania-Georgian, fanatically Pro-Slavery in their opinions and conduct, believed to be the agents of the Administration, for the formation of such a Constitution as would suit its purposes, which, of course, are identical with those of the Slaveholding Oligarchy. These gentlemen had patriotically travelled through the wilds of California, and labored in season and out of season in getting up the Convention which took this action. It is not remarkable that such an issue of their labors should have taken the country by surprise, and that there should have been found those who suspected it to be a mere *ruse de guerre* for the purpose of disarming Northern opposition to the admission of the State, while the right of amending the Constitution would be used, at a proper time, to restore to California the benefits of which she had deprived herself by this self-denying Ordinance. The opposition, however, which the proposition of admitting her with an Anti-Slavery Constitution meets with from Mr. CALHOUN and the extreme Slaveholding party in Congress, is favorable to the hope that the prohibitory clause was indeed expressive of the sense of the New El Dorado, and that Slavery and Gold may cease in history to be linked together by indissoluble bonds. The events of the present session will number this as one of the most prominent of their train.

The Thirtieth Congress expired in all the spasms of drunkenness and riot which have marked the closing hours of so many of its immediate predecessors. Honorable Members called one another names and knocked one another down according to established precedent and in the most edifying manner. The next day after it had thus given up the ghost, the Slave-Power was again inaugurated, in the person of General TAYLOR, as the Presiding Genius of the Model Republic. Since the Thirty-

first Congress has come together that Power has vindicated its supremacy in the most unqualified manner. The contest which occupied the chief of the four weeks since the Session commenced, was one in which its interposition was most conspicuous. The rare experiment of a Northern Speaker having been ventured upon by the last Congress, it was thought unsafe (though for what rational cause it would be hard to say,) to repeat it, and, accordingly, after three weeks and more than sixty ballottings, the Plurality principle was substituted for that of a Majority; and, consequently, Mr. HOWELL COBB, of Georgia, was elected by Whig and Democratic votes. It is a curious and an instructive fact that in the composition of Committees, Mr. COBB has given more weight to the Anti-Slavery element of the House than was done by his Northern predecessor. Thus far the substance and the accidents of Slavery are all that have created any excitement in either House or any interest in the country. In the Senate, a debate arising from a proposition to admit Father MATHEW within the bar, opposed on the ground of that gentleman's Anti-Slavery action in Ireland, (which will be adverted to in another place,) although the conduct of no American Minister of the Gospel could have been more inoffensive than his since his arrival in this country, has been the most animated that its records can show to this date. The compliment was finally granted to him by a vote of 33 to 18; but it was only on the ground that his repulse of the Boston Abolitionists, previous to the first of August, should be taken in mitigation of the punishment due to his former malfasances. We hope the Very Reverend Father will derive from this compliment all the comfort and satisfaction it is fitted to bestow.

## THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

The aspect of affairs at the Seat of Government at the present time is not less instructive than it is unexampled. It indicates in an eminently clear light the overbearing and overpowering nature of the influences of Slavery upon our machine of Government, and that the shifting of the helm of State from one party to another is merely formal and in no wise substantial or material. The present attitude of political affairs is one un-

precedented in our own history, and anomalous in that of Constitutional Governments. For the first time since we were a Nation, a President on his accession finds himself in a minority in both Houses of the National Legislature. This is singularly significant of the preponderance of the Slaveholding Influence in the Nation. None but a Slaveholder could have been thus placed in the Chair of State by a Minority of the People. Usually, always indeed, the Party which was strong enough to elect its candidate for the Presidency, has been able to choose its candidates for the two Legislative Branches, and so to carry on the Administration according to its own ideas of Government. Now the Party who claims the Chief Magistrate and the direction of affairs is in a hopeless minority in both House and Senate, and cannot move hand or foot without the consent of its enemies. This extraordinary state of things finds an easy explanation in the fact that the Candidate of the Minority Party, at the last Election, had given bonds for his good behavior in the amount of three hundred Slaves, while he of the Majority had his bare word to pledge that he would bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Paramount Lords.

This is, indeed, but the latest of the proofs of which our history since the adoption of the Constitution is full, remarkable only for being so bald and impudent, of the marvellous skill with which that Instrument was contrived so as to invest the Few with the political power of the Nation, under the pretence of securing it to the Many, — to conceal an Oligarchic Despotism under the mask of the Largest Liberty. Had it been a time when the Anti-Slavery spirit was less prevalent, or at least less loud, it is not impossible that the South would have been willing to confide in the patriotic protestations and Democratic love of Slavery of General Cass. But startled as she naturally was by what seemed to her, at least, the strange apostacy of Mr. Van Buren, the man whom she once delighted to honor, it is not surprising that she hesitated to entrust her interests to any one not identified with her in the most thorough manner. The lesser matters of Tariff and Sub-Treasury, of Bank and Internal Improvements, might be safely postponed until a due attention had been given to the first great law of Self-preservation. There was no danger for Slavery, nor for any measures necessary for its security or propagation as long as the Master

of Three Hundred Slaves waved the Cart-whip over the Nation. Accordingly, by means of that ingenious adjustment of the machinery of our Politics which gives the Slave-owners the command of it, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, Democratic States were transferred for the nonce into Whig ones, and Taylor was hoisted into the Presidency upon the shoulders of his political enemies. But though changed, Southern Democracy was not dead, and by its elections to the House it has shown that it will be found by the side of its unterrified Northern allies as ready to resist the Whiggish crotchets of Protecting of Industry and discounting the public money, as if it had not deserted them in their hour of need.

It will be a curious spectacle, the working out of this problem in politics. Though sure of the result, we may be allowed to watch the process with the interest so novel a state of things demands. To see whether, for example, the Minority party will be permitted to occupy the high places and to dispense the loaves and fishes of the National Storehouse to the hungering multitudes, or whether the Majority will drive them out at the point of the bayonet and possess themselves of that beneficent office. According to the maxims of all Constitutional Governments, except our own, such a result would be the inevitable consequence of such a posture as that in which our affairs now find themselves. By those maxims, the party that can command the Legislature is entitled to the administration of the Government, whether the Chief Magistrate wish it or not,—and for the sufficient reason that the supplies being dependent, in all such Governments, upon the Legislature, the party that can stop the whole machinery of State by cutting off the power that moves it, must, of necessity, have the control of it. The dominant party in our own Congress has, of course, the same power. Whether it will avail itself of it remains to be seen.

In England, as soon as a Prime Minister is put into a minority in the House of Commons, he has nothing to do but to resign and give place to the leader of the prevailing party. The utmost that he can do to prolong his power is to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the People, if he think that the feeling of the Country is with him. If it pronounce in his favor by returning a majority of his friends, as was done in the celebrated contest of Pitt and the Coalition majority in 1784, he retains his

power. If not, his departure from office is as inevitable as "when the brains are out, the man must die." So in France, even under Charles X. and Louis Philippe, the mere ghost of a Constitution was enough to scare from the helm of State any Minister who had lost the command of the Chamber of Deputies. And even in Spain and Portugal, the Premiership oscillates from Statesman to Statesman according to the impulse given to it by the preponderating power in the Legislative Bodies of those countries. It is reserved for this country which brags the loudest of its Constitution and the marvellous virtues thereof for the conservation of that popular rule which is the life of a Republic, to witness Cabinets existing in the face of hostile majorities and Presidents executing *coups d'etat* such as would cost any European Sovereign his crown and any European Minister his head. This arises from the want of homogeneity in the constitution of our parties, or rather from the fact that our National parties, as now distributed, are more nominal than real, and do but mask rather than impersonate the genuine divisions of the National interests. These divisions have never yet been embodied in National parties, and the anomalous condition of matters in this respect results partly from men working in the dark and honestly beating the air thinking it solid substance, and partly from the anxious skill with which the true divisions of National interests have been hindered from crystallizing into National Parties.

Parties are the Embodiments of distinct Interests, really or apparently incompatible the one with the other. Where such parties exist with strongly marked lines of division between them, as the Whigs and Tories of England, the Extreme Right and Left of France, the Progresistas and Moderadoes of Spain, it is impossible that the one should retain the administration of affairs when the other has the absolute power to turn them out. For those parties represent Principles, stand for Ideas, and antagonist Principles, incompatible Ideas, must attack and expel their opposites. The difficulty here is, and ever has been, that there has been but one Party, one Idea made Flesh, one Principle making multitudes as one man, which has consequently had everything its own way. The Country has been divided into Factions, indeed, representing the material interests of small bodies of men, and the personal interests of the zealous

candidates for their country's service and spoils, but these have both of them been inter-penetrated and reciprocally controlled by the One Party, through the very hold it has had upon them by playing upon these selfish interests. There is nothing in the policy of a National Bank or a Sub-Treasury, of Tariff or Free Trade on which to found a Party, though either is large enough to be the head of the corner of a Faction. A Faction may not descend deeper than the Pocket for its foundation; a Party must reach the Heart, or, at least, some of the more earnest and overbearing of the Passions. The One American Party falls back upon Avarice and the Love of Personal and Political Power, the strongest of human Passions. What opposition could either Faction oppose to the resolute Purpose and concentrated Energies of such a Party? It is as certain of success as was Bonaparte when he could throw himself between two unwieldy divisions of the Arch-duke Charles, or Nelson when he had manœuvred his ship within raking distance of two French or Spanish First-rates.

The actual supremacy of the Party, in all matters affecting its interests, has occasioned the apparent anomaly of which we have spoken. As long as the Factions which divide the Country are but the tools of the Party that governs it through them, it is a matter of subordinate importance to it, which of them registers its edicts. The grand object of that party now is to prevent the application of the Wilmot Proviso to our land-stealings in Mexico. As long as the Attorney General, the Constitutional legal adviser of the President, stands committed to the doctrine that such a law would be *Unconstitutional*, the Slave Party may trust its purpose safely to a Chief Magistrate whose pledge to sign whatever passes Congress is craftily qualified by the proviso, "*if it be Constitutional!*" It may not be worth while to dislodge an *Anti-Slavery* Cabinet of such easy virtue. It will fill the ditch as well as another. But supposing that by some strange *hocus pocus* the last election had been brought into the House, and it had so happened that Mr. Van Buren was elected, and met Congress at this time with no larger a majority against him than General Taylor has to encounter, think ye that he could keep a Free Soil Cabinet about him, even supposing the impossibility that one had been confirmed by the Senate? As soon as the Party had time to muster its forces, a

Vote of Want of Confidence in the Cabinet, on the part of Congress and the Country, would be followed by the withholding of the supplies, and, unless its Voice was heard and obeyed, by Impeachment and Removal. The anomaly, then, is not real, but only in seeming; for the Governing Party has always had the Administration of Affairs. There can, obviously, be no remedy for this state of things, except in the evolution of a Party as strongly imbued with an Antagonist Principle. Then the Conflict of the Powers of Light and Darkness will begin to be seen in our Public History. Thus far, the Prince of Darkness has had everything his own way.

#### THE NORTHERN STATES.

The States from which Nature has excluded Slavery, and which are therefore allowed the courtesy title of Free States, notwithstanding their fundamental subjection to the Slave Power and the readiness they almost universally evince to strengthen its hands and do its behests, have not been wanting, during the past year, in that homage which Vice pays to Virtue, and Servility to Freedom. Having just emerged from a contest of which the end was the elevation to the highest Office the Incarnation of unscrupulous, rapacious, blood-thirsty Southern Slaveholding, or the Embodiment of unblushing, unquestioning, unhesitating Northern Subservience, they were all ready to offer that lip-service to Liberty, which is often the loudest when the heart is farthest from her. Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Wisconsin, and probably other States, gave wordy expression to their hatred of Slavery, while the air above them was yet fulsome with their acclamations for a Slave-master or his Parasite. Most, probably all, of these strings of Resolutions embraced the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, and requested or instructed their Senators and Representatives to give their political influence that direction. The time has been when the Resolutions of State Legislatures, condemning Slavery, were justly regarded as proofs of Anti-Slavery progress; for in those days they were extorted from reluctant Representatives by the uncompromising urgency of Constituencies at home. Now, although of less significance in this aspect, there is yet another, viewed in which, this action is


not without its interest. For these more extended and more unanimous Anti-Slavery Legislative demonstrations, which are becoming more and more common in the Free States, argue the existence of a growing and Impracticable Minority, as well as a changing sentiment even in the sluggish Majority, which calls for the assumption, at least, of an Anti-Slavery virtue.

In the Legislature of New York, a useful discussion was excited by a Bill which was introduced for the further Protection of Personal Liberty, analogous to the Latimer Law of this State. This Bill passed in the Senate by a vote of 17 to 5 to a third reading; but we believe that it did not finally become a law. In Ohio, the persevering efforts of the friends of equal rights have been rewarded by a partial repeal of the infamous Black Laws, which have so long disgraced its Statute Book. We trust they will be encouraged to go on until no discrimination is made in the legal condition or treatment of any of the inhabitants thereof. In DELAWARE, which, though a Slave State, is now usually classed with the nominally Free, the Legislature, by a unanimous vote of both Houses, declared it inexpedient to legislate on the subject of Slavery, which was brought before them by petitions for its Abolition. This refusal to act has had its legitimate effect of increasing rather than diminishing the earnestness of Anti-Slavery purpose which provoked it. We trust that steadfastness will endure unto the speedy end. The State of New Jersey signalized itself last winter by a refusal to receive a petition for the peaceful Secession of that State from the Union, for the same or analagous reasons, as are contained in those emanating from this Society. The petition was signed by ALFRED GIBBS CAMPBELL, alone, but the State would not encounter this solitary champion, but thrust it back in his face by a vote of 26 to 18! An argument, surely, either of the impregnable strength of his position, or of the unfitness of the Collective Wisdom of New Jersey to be entrusted with the guardianship of the simplest rights of the single citizen.

In MASSACHUSETTS, the usual annual expenditure of breath and parchment has been incurred, to proclaim and record her abhorrence of that Slavery, to fight whose battles she had sent forth her sons, and to reward whose victories she had just given her electoral vote to their Slaveholding Chief. Even the best of the various series offered, (that of Mr. HOPKINS, of Northamp-



ton,) was shorn of its strength by the allegiance it professed to the Constitution and the Union. We trust that the Northern mind is going through a course of instruction that will enable it to understand that fidelity to Freedom and fidelity to the American Constitution, are as radically incompatible as the service of God and Mammon, of Christ and Belial. Colonel SCHOULER, the heroic editor of the *Atlas*, distinguished himself on the 5th of February, by drawing the attention of a Committee appointed to visit the Normal Schools, to the fact that the Principal of one of them (CYRUS PIERCE, of Newton,) was a Vice President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which had passed resolutions that the American Church and Union ought to be dissolved, and entreating them to see to it that the Republic received no detriment through the pollution of the streams of Education. We believe that this instance of gallant and meritorious conduct has met with that neglect and ingratitude with which even the Model Republic but too often repays its benefactors. On the 8th of February, the first of the Dissolution Petitions was presented by Mr. GEORGE W. GREENE, of Milton. It was received and read (after some opposition,) amid ill-concealed merriment. Mr. GREENE, in view of the importance of the subject-matter of the petition, moved its reference to a Select Committee. But Mr. KELLOGG, of Pittsfield, (the present Speaker of the House,) moved its committal to the Judiciary Committee, in whose custody it might be regarded as safe. Mr. GREENE, (whose conduct in all matters involving the question of Slavery was uniformly marked by praiseworthy courage and independence,) in his remarks on this occasion, referred to Mr. SCHOULER's attack on Mr. PIERCE, and suggested that he might have learned his lesson in Disunion from the Governor of the Commonwealth! alluding to the celebrated Address to the People of the Free States, dated at Washington, March 3d, 1843, and signed by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, GEORGE N. BRIGGS, and eighteen other Members of Congress, in contemplation of the Admission of Texas. It perhaps may not be superfluous to quote a single passage from this State Paper, that it may be seen by what high authority our Disunion Agitation is sanctioned, strengthened as our position now is by the Annexation of half of Mexico, since it was fulminated.

"We hesitate not to say, that Annexation, effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal Government, or any of its departments, **WOULD BE IDENTICAL WITH DISSOLUTION.** It would be a *violation of our national compact*, ITS OBJECTS AND DESIGNS, and the great **ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES** which entered into its formation, of a character so *deep and fundamental*, and would be  an attempt to *eternize an institution and a power of nature* so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the Free States, as, in our opinion, not only inevitably to result in a *Dissolution of the Union*, but **FULLY TO JUSTIFY IT**; and we not only assert that the people of the Free States '**OUGHT NOT TO SUBMIT TO IT**,' but we say, with confidence, *they would not submit to it.* We know their present temper and spirit on this subject too well to believe, for a moment, that they would become *particeps criminis*, in any such subtle contrivance for the *irremediable perpetuation* of an institution, which the wisest and best men who formed our Federal Constitution, as well from the Slave as the Free States, *regarded as an evil and a curse*, soon to become extinct under the operation of laws soon to be passed prohibiting the Slave Trade, and the progressive influence of the principles of the Revolution."

Is it too much to hope that the long and disgraceful, if not painful, discipline which the South has been administering to the North ever since the Constitution was framed, may at last educate the General Mind up to the point of resistance, or at least of retaliation? If we cannot be brought up to the point of breaking the dishonorable Compact and withdrawing openly and honestly from the conspiracy of which we are a part for the spoiling, torturing and slaying of our countrymen, can we not be roused to that partial manifestation of spirit which will insist upon our equal right to violate the Constitution with the South, in our own defence, and to meet the hostile legislation of the Slaveholders who stalk over the Constitution to their design, as if it were so much dirt under their feet, by an antagonist battery of laws answering to the one they have opened against us? Are we so far degraded that we cannot be kicked into a sense of what is due to ourselves, if we are too far gone in servitude to feel a just sympathy for our fellow-slaves of the plantation? Massachusetts has talked and resolved long enough, let her now try to do something. They that deem political and legislative action the only effectual method of Anti-Slavery attack, should learn wisdom of their enemies, and skill from their defeats, and

direct the legislative action of the North in a practical direction. There is a plan of political action, different from any yet tried, which, though not the right one, would be more effectual than any that has yet been attempted, as a mode of attacking Slavery. At least, that would be more effectual for the vindication of the rights and self-respect of the Free States. What we mean is a strictly Northern and Retaliatory Party, that shall be at least as zealous for Liberty as the South is for Slavery, and as strenuous for the maintenance of Northern rights as the Slaveholders are for the integrity of their prescriptive privilege of piracy and their hereditary right of robbing the poor. A party that shall be no more scrupulous on this side of Mason and Dixon's Line than their Southern brethren are on the other. That will not hold itself bound to perform the articles of the National partnership contemplating the security of Slavery, as long as those parts of the same contract contemplating the security of Liberty are trampled under foot by their partners in the concern. That will maintain the natural law of Retaliation,—the great *Lex Talionis*,—which, whatever Christianity may say to the contrary, has been and is the mainspring of all political, governmental and international machinery.

The great advantage which they of the South have always had over us of the North has been that they have ever regarded the Constitution of the United States as a dead letter whenever it interfered with their sectional policy; while the North, on the other hand, has consented to be bound by the clauses introduced as the safeguards of that policy, and yet submitted to be stripped of the very protection to its own rights which that consent was intended to buy. So the South has had all the benefit of the bargain without having to pay the consideration, and the North has been paying the consideration without ever perceiving the benefits promised by the bargain. Not only the rights of our colored citizens have been denied to them, but the plainest rights of our white citizens, as in the case of *BARRETT*, and of Sovereign States, as in the case of *Mr. HOAR*, have been blown away as chaff when they came across the path of the strong necessities of Slavery. Now there is no reason why these things should be so forever. The North has as good a moral and political right to nullify the Constitution for its own purposes as the South. It is not a want of strength, or of means,

that has kept her so tame and long-suffering. It has been rather a want of spirit and a cowardly fear of losing some material advantage, some opportunity of money-making, which has made her so insensible to wrong and insult. When she begins to understand her true interests as well as rights and dignity, then there will be an opportunity for political action in a new and more effectual direction. Not the highest or the best direction, but one every whit as honest, and infinitely more sensible and practical than any, the best form that Anti-Slavery politics have yet taken.

One advantage of this scheme would be that it would be carried out by any single State. Every State might be its own South Carolina. Let Massachusetts, for example, enact that a Slave upon escaping to her soil becomes instantly a Freeman and a citizen, and entitled to the protection of the State. Let her make it a State's Prison offence for a master to take any steps for his recapture, or for any one to aid and abet him in such an attempt. And then let her also doom to the Penitentiary any one bringing an action before the United States Courts to test the Constitutionality of these laws, and the relative positions of the Northern and Southern States will be brought into something like analogy. Not complete, for to make it so, she should commit to jail every Slaveholder who arrives within her boundaries, and, if his fees are not paid when it is time for him to depart, send him to the State's Prison for life, which is the nearest approximation to the Slavery to which our Free citizens have often been condemned for a like crime, that our institutions provide. About as good an argument could be made out for the one policy as for the other. For if Slavery be endangered there, as it doubtless is, by the presence of free men of color, the nice sense of Liberty is as truly injured here, by the evil communication of Slaveholders. It would be no more an outrage upon the Constitution and the Union for Massachusetts to pass and enforce such laws as these, than it is for South Carolina and Louisiana to maintain the integrity of their Statute Books. If the Constitution may be broken with impunity at one end, let us see if it will not survive a small fracture at the other. Perhaps the fracture if thus made compound, would knit the sooner, and the process end in the healing of the Nation. We are sure it would in the convalescence of this part of it.

It is by being true in the first place to their own interests that the Slaveholders have possessed themselves of the control of the nation. It is only by a similar process that the Northern people can qualify themselves to contend successfully with them. Statesmanship, if not Charity, always begins at home. People should learn to manage their own affairs before they can reasonably expect to know how to govern those of the Nation. To be sure, we have had a good many examples of public-spirited citizens, who seem to consider that an inability to conduct their own private concerns is a sufficient qualification (at least the only one they display) for the direction of those of the public. As Chancellor Oxenstiern said, it has taken but very little wisdom to govern the world. But, then, it must be acknowledged that the world has always been shockingly misgoverned. The Slaveholders have thoroughly understood their own interests, as such, and by carrying that knowledge to Washington, and never suffering themselves to be diverted from being guided by it, they have triumphed over the divided and stupid North. Now, we shall never get our fair turn at the helm of the Nation till we have learned how to steer our own little cock-boats at home. We must learn wisdom even of our enemies, and be taught to conquer as Peter the Great was by Charles XII. and Alexander by Napoleon, by being beaten. We, certainly, have had enough of the instructions. It is our own fault if we do not better them.

The most effective blows that can be dealt at Slavery, by political action, are those which can be given in the Northern Legislatures, if they will but follow the lead of their Southern partners. If the General Court of Massachusetts will only ordain that a Slave shall find a sanctuary in the Bay State, and be protected by her entire physical force, Union or no Union, Constitution or no Constitution, we apprehend it would excite a good deal more genuine sensation in the South than was caused here by the expulsion of Mr. HOAR, and the insulting legislation that followed it. For it would show that she was in earnest, and that her people were resolved to let the Constitution stand as little in the way of Liberty as it had been permitted to do in that of Slavery. And if she would but make an attempt at recapture, or an application to the United States Courts in the premises, a penal offence, we think there is little

doubt that it would soon bring about a settlement of the Slavery question. And how much more honorable and ingenuous a course would it be for Anti-Slavery politicians to endeavor to accomplish this state of things, openly and above board, than to be swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, and then by way of balm to their consciences helping to conceal or to escape as many fugitive Slaves as come in their way? How many of our legislators are there, probably, of the more respectable class, who would not declare that they would defend a fugitive Slave to the utmost, or at least do their best to assist his escape, if his master were in pursuit? And yet this is the very thing they have sworn not to do, before they could take their seats! If men must disregard their oaths, in order to reconcile the exercise of power with their natural humanity, how much more manly and honest, to do it before Israel and the sun? Instead of hiding a fugitive in his garret, or spiriting him away under cover of night, let him lead him by the hand into the presence of the Legislature and tell him, and his master, that whatever the Constitution may say, Massachusetts knows no man but as a free man, and will protect him as such to the last drop of her blood.

We do not commend this course as absolutely right. We only say that it is quite as consistent and infinitely more upright than that pursued or proposed by the best Anti-Slavery politicians. It is the only way in which Northern men can be even with the Slaveholders, and fight them on equal terms, while acting under the Constitution. A party formed for such an object would have the great advantage over the Third and the Free Soil parties of having an actual and attainable object of pursuit. The several Northern States can be made actually Free States, by the same open nullification of all parts of the Constitution maintaining Slavery, that the Southern States have made of those parts maintaining Liberty; and with quite as little sacrifice of principle and false swearing as is necessary to make the two ends of political expediency and natural humanity meet, now. The highest ground, of course, is that maintained by the Northern Disunionists, who refuse to take an oath they do not mean to keep, and who do their best to procure a Dissolution of the Union, of which the Constitution is the blood-cemented compact, in order that a more perfect Union may be

framed with a juster and more righteous Constitution as its bond. This is the only absolutely right and upright mode of agitating the Slave question; and into Dissolution, coming from the South or the North, do we believe that it will finally resolve itself. But, in the meantime, we would advise all persons who think political action, in the shape of voting, to be the only effectual method, to try the experiment of NULLIFICATION as opposed to DISUNION. Indeed, it can hardly be called an *experiment*, when it has been tried with such perfect success at the other end of the country. We commend the idea, in all seriousness, to the consideration of our voting Anti-Slavery friends, being assured that a Northern Nullification Party would do all that politics can do for the molestation of Slavery, and in the most effectual and least objectionable way.

#### THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The natural and inevitable agitation of the Slaveholding mind at the South, consequent upon the agitation of the subject of Slavery at the North, has never been more marked than during the past year. We have never had more palpable proofs that our fire is well aimed than has been afforded by the disturbance of our adversaries of late. These signs have been seen, as they should have been, most plainly at Washington. Before the end of 1848 the discussion of the Wilmot Proviso and the introduction and passage of Mr. Gorr's resolution, had produced or indicated a state of things which called for a display of that bravado and of those threats which had so often produced the desired effect of frightening the North into silent submission. A solemn Meeting of the Members of Congress from the Slaveholding States was called to deliberate upon what was to be done in this distress. The meeting was attended by about two-thirds of the Slaveholding members, and Resolutions were offered by Mr. BAYLY, of Virginia, comprising the Virginia views of the Constitution, not recommending resistance, at this time, but insisting on a firm maintenance of the Constitutional rights of the South, and also proposing the appointment of a Committee of one from each State to draft an Address to the People of the Slaveholding States, setting forth the progress of Abolitionism, but not indicating any definite ac-

tion, which it was proposed to leave to the legislative wisdom of the several States. The Caucus met twice by adjournment, and at the last meeting, on the 22d of January, the question of the Address proper to be offered to their Constituents came up for decision. Mr. BERRIEN, of Georgia, had prepared one which was supposed to represent the Moderate or Union portion of the Members. The other, by Mr. CALHOUN, expressed the sense of the Ultra or Nullification Party among them. The first was addressed to the People of the United States, at large, and the other to those of the Slaveholding States, exclusively. Mr. BERRIEN's was rejected by a vote of 33 to 26, and Mr. CALHOUN's adopted by one of 42 to 17. The tone of both these Addresses was singularly calm, not to say tame. Mr. BERRIEN seemed chiefly to rely on the effect of his hortatory dissuasives to the People of the North to desist from the course which had grieved the righteous souls of their brethren. Mr. CALHOUN recapitulated those injuries and exhorted the Slaveholders to unanimity of action when they came to act. But he prudently abstained from making any specific suggestions as to the nature or direction of such action. Whether this unusual calmness of expression was caused by a sense of an actually impending crisis, or from a feeling that the day of bluster and gasconade had gone by, or because the Slaveholding troops were not to be relied on, is a matter of individual inference. It was clear that anything rather than unanimity reigned in their counsels, and the effect of the demonstration upon the public mind was not as impressive or as alarming as its movers probably anticipated. Another Address was issued by Messrs. HOWELL COBB, LINN BOYD, BEVERLY H. CLARK and JOHN H. LUMPKIN, Representatives from Georgia and Kentucky, setting forth the reasons why they could not unite in Mr. CALHOUN's Manifesto. Its chief object appears to have been to arraign one or both of the Great Parties at the North for courting the political support of the Abolitionists, and to put the Slaveholders on their guard against the political as well as religious fanaticism of Anti-Slavery. On the point of Disunion, or final action, this Address was as indistinct and non-committal as either of the others.

The response to this action of their representatives by the Slaveholding Constituencies was soon heard. The tone of the Press was loud and swelling, but its accents were indistinct and



uncertain. Though some were full of fire and fury, and ready to put down the Northern insurrection against Southern rights by War and Disunion, still the majority of those prints, when the time of action seemed to impend and a strange spirit of resistance to exist, either repudiated such policy or maintained a prudent silence on the subject. Resolutions defining the Rights of the Southern States to Slavery and to their share of the territories, and requesting the Governor to convene the Legislature, should the Wilmot Proviso pass, or Slavery in the District be disturbed, were passed by the Legislature of Virginia. The House of Representatives of Kentucky distinguished its love of country and of syntax by passing unanimously the following resolution :—

“Resolved, that we, the Representatives of the people of Kentucky, are opposed to the abolition or emancipation of Slavery in any form or shape whatever, except as now provided for by the Constitution and Laws of the State.”

The Palmetto State was not wanting to herself in this public emergency, but a Convention was held in view of it at Columbia, S. C., in the Capitol, on the 14th of May. It was usually described as a “Disunion” Convention; but its resolutions were not of a much more stringent nature than the staple of Mr. CALHOUN’S Address and the Virginia Resolutions. Their practical suggestion was to the same effect, that in the event of the calamities in question coming upon them, the Governor be requested to convene the Legislature, to see what could be done about it. The Legislature of Mississippi has recommended a General Convention of the Slaveholding States in the event of Congressional interference with Slavery or its extension, which has been responded to by several of the same. The Governors of Georgia and Alabama, and probably other States, have recommended in their Annual Messages, that provision should be made for a Convention of the People of those States, in case of such legislation. But, notwithstanding all these fulminations, we cannot flatter the people of the North that they are to be saved the work of dissolving the Union. They will never be relieved from the service they have undertaken to do for Slavery by any action but their own. We apprehend that the South is too intelligent of her own interests ever to dispense with so

useful an ally. These threats are only for correction and reproof, not indications of any determined purpose.

The Slaveholders, this year, have given renewed proofs of that moral cowardice which dreads the light because they know that their deeds are evil. In Virginia, last summer, a Methodist minister, JARVIS C. BACON, was arrested and examined for having in his possession, and lending a sermon of an Anti-Slavery tendency, and also the Narrative of Frederick Douglass. He was held for trial in a higher Court, the result of which has not reached us. About the same time JOHN M. BARRETT, a citizen of Indiana, travelling in South Carolina, on his own business, was arrested at Spartanburg, for the crime of taking out of the post office letters addressed to himself, some of which contained enclosures for white persons, Slaveholders and others, which he was requested to forward. These covered some of those documents addressed to the Non-Slaveholders, signed "Brutus," which had aroused the terrors of the Chivalry in former time. Though there was no evidence that Mr. BARRETT knew of any intention to make him a medium of circulating these incendiary publications, so little that even there he was finally acquitted, he was kept in close custody for a long time, his life considered in serious peril from the Supreme Mob, and he was at last released only on heavy bail. The right to search the mail for matter dangerous to Slavery was generally maintained, and the Postmaster General loudly denounced for affirming that the Department had no control over what was entrusted to it, though conveyed in the most guarded and courteous terms. These Rights over the Constitution, it must be admitted, are essential to the safety of Slavery; but they should convey to those who have no direct interest in its defence, the value of the Constitution of which they brag so much.

The project for the Annexation of Cuba, of which we have spoken in former Reports, is not yet lost sight of by the Slave Power. That Power is willing to wait, as in the case of Texas, but it will never take its eye off that precious booty till it be secured. An attempt to erect a runaway defaulter into a political martyr, at New Orleans, and to pick a quarrel with Spain on account of his abduction, was defeated by his rendition by the Vice-Regal Government, and the final lack of proof that there had been any abduction at all. A piratical incursion, which had

been planned to co-operate with a Republican, Slaveholding Insurrection in the Island, was broken up by a proclamation of the President and the interposition of the United States' troops. No punishment, however, was visited upon the conspiritors for a crime which is treason under our Constitution. We apprehend that it was the ill-timed and ill-planned character of the attempt, and not its inherent wickedness, that caused the intervention of the Authorities. It has been publicly maintained, and declared without contradiction on the floor of the Senate, that President TAYLOR and a large majority of his Cabinet are in favor of the acquisition of Cuba. Such must be the wish of all intelligent Slaveholders, and it is a Wish that will bring about its own Accomplishment, unless it is met in a spirit of resistance from the North, which, after the experience of Texas, New Mexico, California and Deseret, we rather wish for than expect. The same wisdom in their Generation has caused a strong spirit of remonstrance against the Annexation of Canada, which has taken its place among the growing possibilities of the time. When Annexation begins to look Northwards, and to throw its weight against Slavery, we shall have new doctrines broached as to the Area of Freedom, and a new phase of Northern Servility to admire.

The ceaseless vigilance which is the price of Slavery, even more than of Liberty, has been manifested anew, during the last year, from the denunciation of the Wilmot Proviso down to that of Sartain's Magazine and Paley's Moral Philosophy. The education of Slaves as Mechanics, and the custom of allowing them to hire their time, paying a rent for their own bodies to their masters, have also excited animadversion as of a tendency to cultivate ideas and habits of independence and self-reliance. The unhappy Free People of Color are still a growing cause of distrust and suspicion, and propositions have been made for their expulsion by individuals, by public meetings, and by the Governor of at least one State, Virginia. We think that this is the effect of exasperation and passion, and believe that such an attempt could not be seriously made without causing a strong reactionary excitement in the Slave States, themselves.

But though the tide has set thus strongly in the wrong direction in the Slave States, still there has not been wanting a strong counter-current even there. The hopes which were ex-

cited by the Calling of the Convention for Amending the Constitution of Kentucky, have indeed been disappointed. Notwithstanding the exertions of the Emancipationists, not a single delegate of that political complexion was chosen to it. What alteration it has made in the Constitution has been for the worse. But this was perhaps no more than it was reasonable to expect from the Slave Power gathering up its strength for a last struggle for its supremacy. The opposition to Slavery which has been developed in Kentucky, and which occasioned these more stringent measures, cannot be put down by this result. It must needs breathe new vigor into it. The Revolution there begun is one of those which cannot go backward, and, though often baffled, it will yet have its due course.

Early in the year an Address was issued, in contemplation of the State Convention, signed by several gentlemen, urging a system of prospective Emancipation, which, though far enough from what right and humanity demand, was at least a movement in the right direction, considering the quarter whence it came. Soon after, a Call appeared for a Convention of the friends of Emancipation, which was held at Frankfort, April 25th. This was preceded by public meetings in various parts of the State, for the election of delegates and discussion of the subject, one of which was held in Lexington and addressed by Mr. CLAY, Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, and others, which passed resolutions based on the following four propositions. 1. That hereditary, domestic Slavery, as it exists among us, is contrary to the rights of mankind. 2. It is opposed to the fundamental principles of Free Government. 3. It is inconsistent with a state of sound morality. 4. It is hostile to the prosperity of the Commonwealth. The Convention met at the time appointed, and sat two days. It consisted of about a hundred and fifty delegates from about twenty-five of the hundred counties of the State. The speeches were, many of them, marked by ability, but the action urged and carried was of a very moderate quality. This may be judged by the resolutions, which, as finally carried with only one dissentient vote, were as follows:—

“ 1. Believing that involuntary and hereditary Slavery, as it exists by law in this State, is injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of free government, contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and

adverse to a pure state of morals, we are of opinion that it ought not to be increased, and it ought not to be perpetuated in the Commonwealth.

"2. That any scheme of emancipation ought to be prospective, operating exclusively upon Negroes born after the adoption of the scheme, and connected with colonization.

"3. That we recommend the following points to be insisted on in the new Constitution, and that candidates be run in every county in the State, favorable to these or similar constitutional provisions:—1. The absolute prohibition of the importation of any more slaves in Kentucky. 2. The complete power in the people of Kentucky to enforce and perfect, in or under the new Constitution, a system of gradual, prospective emancipation of Slaves.

"4. The Convention confines its recommendation to the question of Slavery, and makes no expression of opinion on any other topic."

The action of the State Convention above alluded to was substantially this. The 20th section of the 9th article affirms

"The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a Slave to such Slave, and its increase, is the same, and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever."

The 10th article, section 1, "forbids emancipation without compensation and removal; permits emigrants to bring their Slaves with them; allows laws to be passed permitting emancipation by masters, saving the rights of creditors, and compelling removal; also laws forbidding the introduction of Slaves as merchandize, or any brought into the country since 1789." And the 2d section is as follows:—

"The General Assembly *shall pass* laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter immigrating to or being emancipated in and refusing to leave this State, or having left shall return and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of felony and punished by confinement in the Penitentiary thereof."

That this Constitution will be approved by the People, we have but too much reason to fear, in view of the present supremacy of the Slaveholders in the State. But the amount of Agitation and Discussion which has preceded, accompanied and followed it, cannot fail to open the way to the final Deliverance of the Kentucky bondmen. The light which Slavery abhors has overleaped the barriers of the "Dark and Bloody Ground," and

must grow brighter and brighter until its name shall cease fitly to describe the character of Kentucky.

These ominous appearances in Kentucky had the effect of calling forth the great Juggler of Compromise, whose benumbing spells have been so often hurled into the air whenever it was agitated by the breath of Freedom. In contemplation of the Kentucky Convention, HENRY CLAY wrote a full exposition of his views on the subject of Slavery, for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. It was marked with the cold-blooded heartlessness by which his words on Slavery have been distinguished in latter years. Though he denounced the doctrine of the Divine Origin and Natural Necessity of African Slavery, still he was of opinion that "nothing could be more unwise than the immediate liberation of all the Slaves in the State. It would lead to the most frightful and fatal consequences." He proposed, therefore, that a day future should be fixed, the Slaves born after which should be free at a certain age; all born before being Slaves for life. He evinced a commendable spirit of generosity in the details of his plan, "inclining to a liberal margin" as to the time of beginning his notable scheme. He would like 1855, but would consent to 1860, or any other time that might be agreeable to the masters. The Slaves born after the time agreed upon were to become free at the age of twenty-five; but to be liable to be hired out for a term not exceeding three years, to raise a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of their transportation to a Colony, in Africa we suppose, to be provided for the purpose! This proposition, insidious and abominable as it was, did not fail to excite the ire of the extreme Slaveholding party at the South, by whom it was regarded, which it doubtless was, as a concession to the Anti-Slavery feeling of Kentucky and of the Country. Whether Mr. CLAY would have said thus much had he known what the complexion and action of the Convention would be, before he wrote his letter, is an open question for the consideration of those who have gathered his character from his public and private life.

In Missouri, too, THOMAS H. BENTON, her Senator ever since she was a State, has created a strong excitement by refusing to obey the instructions of the Legislature, requiring him to vote against the Wilmot Proviso. From these instructions he appealed to the People, taking the ground that the Calhoun Move-

ment had for its object the Dissolution of the Union. He was personally opposed to Slavery and to its introduction into territories where it did not exist; but he had always been a Slaveholder, and had no disposition to cease being one. Whether his Movement was of a character immediately dangerous to Slavery may be judged from these elements of his great speech in Missouri. But the agitation which his addresses to the people in different parts of the State must have produced, together with the counter agitation of his antagonists, cannot but be dangerous to a System of which Silence is the breath and Darkness the atmosphere.

But though these demonstrations of Mr. CLAY and Mr. BENTON were far from satisfactory to the South, there was a large class at the North who welcomed them with unmixed satisfaction. These were those wise and prudent men who have always signalized their hatred of Slavery by their dislike of Anti-Slavery, and who have done their best to hinder and suppress the very Movement, here, which has strengthened those Southern politicians to do the little they have attempted. As soon as the labors of the Abolitionists have begun to be felt in the Slave States and their craftiest politicians are devising how the Abomination they know to be doomed, can be kept in existence the longest, then shouts arise from the Printing Offices, and *Te Deums* go up from the Pulpits, in view of such glorious progress! One Slaveholding Statesman would preserve Slavery strictly and make a monopoly of its blessings in favor of the happy region now enjoying them, and politicians are aghast at the temerity of his virtue! Another is willing that, a generation or two hence, his fellow-citizens should by degrees, leave off stealing men; provided, when they had done with the stolen goods, they should ship them all off, at the chattels' own expense, to the coast of Guinea! And Boston Doctors of Divinity fall on their knees, and thank God that he has raised up such a prophet in these latter days. Leave has come down for us to be glad, and we gratefully use the privilege.

CASSIUS M. CLAY was the first who opened the mouths in the faces of dough at the North. But even the meat with which he furnished them, though certainly none of the strongest, was more than many of them could swallow. The earnestness of his antagonism in his first days of enthusiasm seemed "inju-

ditions" and unwise to many. After he had disappointed the hopes of his early promise by his desertion into Mexico, the Emancipation Movement still went on in Kentucky until it attained a size and shape that seemed to call for the interposition of the great Compromiser. A large party, growing into daily increasing strength, were resolute to be rid of the millstone which hung around the neck of their prosperity and honor. They were in earnest. Something must be done. The hosts of Slavery, too, were mustering to the field of Armageddon, It was precisely the emergency to call for the interposition of the palsyng conjuration of the Magician of Ashland. A middle way was to be devised which should content the Abolitionists without dissatisfying the Slaveholders—which should be well pleasing to God without displeasing the Devil. The Slaveholders, indeed, did not accept this boon with the gratitude which it demanded, and the Emancipationists, there, did not view it with eyes of unqualified favor. But here it was duly appreciated. The Religious Press, generally, copied it with rapture, and the Rev. Mr. PEABODY from the Pisgah of King's Chapel Pulpit, saw in him the Aaron raised up to conduct this Exodus. His cold-blooded and cruel scheme for condemning all Slaves now in being to life-long Slavery, subject of sale and deportation, and their children born after a day future to a qualified Slavery for a quarter of a century, and then to be further robbed by the State of enough of their earnings to exile them forever from their native land, seemed to this New England Divine "a masterly effort!" and Mr. CLAY the most efficient Abolitionist in the country! 'Truly, are we not thankful for exceedingly minute mercies? Especially when others, and not we ourselves, are to enjoy them!

These signs of changing feeling and opinion, as well at the North as at the South, are indeed worthy of note and congratulation. They show that the labors of twenty years have not been thrown away, but are doing their perfect work. The necessity which has compelled HENRY CLAY to come up to the defence of Slavery in an Anti-Slavery disguise cannot be a slight one. The state of things which has made that Anti-Slavery Slaveholder, THOMAS H. BENTON, oppose the extension of Slavery into the new territories, must be eloquent in another strain than when his Senatorial life began, thirty years since.



The grateful sense entertained of these mercies by priests and politicians is none too great, certainly; only it is felt towards the wrong parties. They fall into the very common mistake of putting the cart before the horse, and giving to the first all the glory of whatever progression it owes to the unwearied labors of the last. CLAY and BENTON have been driven from their old entrenchments into the position they have now taken up, by the obstinate charges of the Anti-Slavery squadrons from the North, which have been poured upon the hollow squares of the Slaveholders with such pertinacity, that they are obliged, at last, to change their front. And the assailants get about as much gratitude as successful enemies usually do. And so when we have with infinite pains dragged up here and there a Clergyman, as it were by the hair of the head, out of the horrible pit and miry clay in which he has been wallowing for years, all the thanks we get is to be pelted with some of the mud for our pains.

It is refreshing, after regarding the characters and conduct of such men as Mr. CLAY and Mr. BENTON, at the South, and of their admirers at the North, to turn and behold a marked, decided, understandable, unmistakeable man like Mr. CALHOUN. It is a satisfaction now and then to see a man in these United States. Even a bad man is better than none at all. It is encouraging, for it looks as if there were a possibility of the American race regaining its stamina, and recovering something of the rough strength of character which it had sixty or seventy years ago. It is a comfort, too, to meet with an actual, tangible Idea, however wicked it may be, occasionally. An Idea that stands up by itself, in its own natural proportions, instead of being razed down to regulation dimensions. Even the sight of Satan himself, would be a welcome refreshment in the Limbo of Vanity, or Paradise of Fools, among

“——the unaccomplished works of Nature's hand.  
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixed.”

And even the Idea of the Absolute Excellence of Slavery though it may be much worse, is much less disgusting than the abortive monstrosities which try to unite theoretical abhorrence of Slavery with a daily practical support of it.

It is for this reason that we like to see Mr. CALHOUN stand up before the Nation, and boldly give utterance to the Idea with

which he is possessed. He is not absolutely admirable, it must be admitted, and his doctrine is the very Abomination of Desolation; but one cannot help feeling a sort of respect for a man who takes no counsel of expediency even in the worst of causes, and who has a settled, distinct, definite purpose, however abominable, to which he bends all his powers and every circumstance he can control. As was said of Lafayette, when he set out on his mad-cap expedition to America, whatever we may think of his prudence, we cannot help admiring his spirit. He holds Slaves and he defends it. He maintains Slavery to be the natural condition of the colored race, beneficent towards them, and essential to a well ordered Commonwealth, and, of course, he promotes it. The right of the Anglo-Saxon to make free with the African he regards as founded in Nature and guaranteed by the People of the United States. Therefore he resists any attempt to confine the exercise of this natural and social privilege within any specific territorial limits. Wherever a free and enlightened American may incline to go, thither he may be followed by a Negro, as the shade pursues the substance. And he is proportionally indignant at those Peter Schlemihls who would not only strip off their own shadows, but lay sacriligious hands on the shadows of their neighbors, too.

It is a characteristic of the American People, which has been fostered by their institutions, that they prefer half an idea to a whole one. They not merely think that half a loaf is better than no bread, but that it is better than a whole one. Therefore CALHOUN and his party at the South, and GARRISON and his friends at the North, are equally rejected by the men of their generation. Both go too thoroughly to the root of the matter for those who hate to look beyond the tips of the branches. Each are for whole measures and necessarily make uncomfortable those who live in half ones. They are equally bold and uncompromising in their opinions, their language and their policy, and they unavoidably shock the timid and the time-serving; those, on the one hand, who are content with their practical enjoyment of their Slaves under the Constitution, and those, on the other, who feel more the scandal than the sin of Slavery, and who ask only to be permitted "to live in decencies forever." To this class, South and North, such politicians as CLAY and BENTON are perfect Godsend. They furnish a *tertium quid*, a

middle quantity equally removed from the two extremes of the National problem. They take an Idea and split it in two and triumphantly hold up the moiety as a proof of the truth of the philosophic paradox of old time, that the half is more than the whole. Anything that shifts responsibility, that defers action, that puts farther off the evil day of doing something, is a welcome boon. CLAY's adjournment of the question to the Greek Kalends, and BENTON's movement to restrict Slavery within its existing boundaries, carefully holding on to his own Slaves, and letting his neighbors' Slaves alone in the most resolute manner, both meet a want in the American market.

There is a fine vein of contempt pervading Mr. CALHOUN's last Address to the People of the South, towards Mr. BENTON, which comes from him with a good grace. Whatever else he may be, Mr. CALHOUN is consistent. He does not reprobate Slavery, and cleave to it at the same time. He does not think that what is good in South Carolina will become bad by being transported to California. Through life he has been faithful to the Peculiar Institution. Nobody could ever mistake his position. There was never a question made about that. He has never blown hot and cold upon the mess of pottage which he prizes as his birthright. He has a complete and perfect Idea for his guide. Mr. BENTON has but a very imperfect fraction of one for his. Slavery is an Absolute Good, says Mr. CALHOUN, and is, therefore, to be cherished and propagated. Slavery is in itself an Evil, virtually says Mr. BENTON, and therefore should not be permitted to curse a country which is now free from it. Why not endeavor to remove it from your own State, which already suffers from its blighting influences, is the natural and inevitable question which arises? Why retain your property in your own chattels, if such be the nature and effect of man-ownership? If Slavery be bad as an article of exportation, it cannot be better as an article of home consumption. If an embargo should be laid for the protection of California from Slavery, surely an effort should be made for the deliverance of Missouri from it. If rum and brandy be ill assorted with missionaries in a cargo to Heathen Lands, they certainly call loudly for extermination in our own. Admit Mr. CALHOUN's premises, and his conclusions will bear the test of the severest logic. Mr. BENTON's conclusions, on the other hand, trip up the heels of his

premises. Or rather, he has, logically nor morally, neither premises nor conclusions to his reasoning. It is a chain loose at both ends, and can serve neither as moorings for Slavery nor for Liberty.

In fact, there are but two Ideas in the United States. The one is Slavery and the other is Anti-Slavery. All others are but the *disjecta membra*, the scattered limbs, of massacred Ideas. Tariff and Anti-Tariff, Free Trade and Protection, Bank and Sub-Treasury, yea, even Free Soil itself, rest upon no great principle, appeal to no Eternal Truth for their sanction. The first are mere schemes of policy, about which men differ according as they affect their interests, present or prospective. Their ultimate appeal is to the Day Book and Ledger, to the returns of Exports and Imports, and to the quarterly statements of the Revenue. And the last carefully abstains from going to the foundations of things existing, and scrupulously protests against being supposed to intend to shake them. With Slavery within the United States, and as protected by the Constitution, it does not pretend to intermeddle. It shudders at the extension of what it is willing to tolerate. This is, plainly, but a very small segment of the Great Idea which is to abolish Slavery. That Idea aims at the entire and utter extermination of its Antagonist, now, without delay, wherever it exists, and at whatever cost of political institutions or pecuniary interests. It takes no counsel with flesh and blood. It sees the ugliness of Slavery and its inherent abominations, and considers the past and present consent of the Nation as of no account, except as an increased motive for instantly getting rid of it. No other Idea has vital power and energy enough to meet the necessities of the case. It is this alone that will finally triumph. All attempts to do its work by employing its fragments must fail. Even their success, were it a possible thing, would be mischievous as distracting the general mind from the real question at issue, from the solution of the great Enigma.

The more distinctly the two opposite Ideas can be brought into palpable antagonism, the better. The mischief of every half measure, and imperfect idea, is, that it prevents or retards their joining battle. It is the great strategy of the best friends of Slavery to protract the day of battle. Their policy is Fabian. Their hope is in delay. And the ill-advised schemes of well-

meaning persons for the restriction of what they should destroy, helps this policy of these enemies of the human race. Now Mr. CALHOUN is honorably distinguished from all these classes of men, by the definiteness of his position, the unmistakableness of his doctrine, and the uncompromising consistency of his public and private life. It is an inestimable advantage to have an enemy that you know where to find. He is no Proteus that will change his shape as soon as you grapple with him. It will be a fair combat until the death struggle. Let us have the question fairly tested. If Slavery be a blessed thing let us all acknowledge its divinity and submit to its sway. If it be of its father the Devil, let us exorcise it and send it back to the bottomless pit from whence it sprung. But let us no longer try to make it out a sort of hybrid between Heaven and Hell. Let us settle its character and behave ourselves accordingly. Had we no antagonists but those of the character and temper of Mr. CALHOUN, we should soon be able to bring the matter to a point. And our endeavor should be to compel all men to take as decided ground as he, on the one side or on the other. While we are ever willing to make allowances for imperfect reachings after the right, we should be ever careful that they should never be looked at as an attainment, or even a near approach of it. If we learn of our enemies and are but as wise in our generation as Mr. CALHOUN is in his, we need not fear for the result.

#### THE FREE SOIL PARTY.

The great political parties have been experiencing, during the past year, the depression which always follows an excited campaign. The victorious Minority are tasting the sweets of their triumph with a fearful joy, while the discomfited Majority are devising how most speedily to strip them of the fruits of their success and most effectually to reign in their stead, when Gen. TAYLOR's little day is over. We have not much to record of their action in their separate capacities, as affecting the Slavery question. Their whole weight and influence is of necessity thrown into the scale of Tyranny, but they have had as yet no especial opportunity to signalize their zeal and duty by any specific Party action. Their most noticeable acts at the North, have been in connection with the Free Soil Party, either as

successful or disappointed suitors for a permanent union. We shall leave them, therefore, until Time shall have re-arranged the political relations of our National Factions, and brought order out of the confusion into which even a small infusion of Anti-Slavery earnestness had thrown their ranks.

The Free Soil Party, or the Free Democracy, as it has rather chosen to christen itself, has been going through the experience which must await every political party which does not grow out of a vital principle, constituting its life and its personal identity. It grew up rapidly, but it was because it had no depth of earth. And for the same reason it is fast withering away and must soon die to the root, and its particles be resolved into their original elements, or take some new shape, informed, we may hope, with a more living spirit. We predicted from the beginning that a political association collected by a common opposition to the development in a particular direction of an evil principle they were ready to stand by within certain territorial limits, could have no abiding strength or enduring life. The history of the Free Soil Party has confirmed our confirmation that there can be no effectual political action directed against Slavery by men who seek to do it under the banner of the Constitution. We cannot repeat too often that fidelity to the Slave and fidelity to the Constitution are absolute incompatibilities, which can be no more combined than light and darkness. Effectual political action against Slavery can only be exerted by men who seek openly to overthrow the Constitution for the purpose of obtaining one that is worthy of the name, or who are willing without grimace, or hypocrisy, to trample its provisions under their feet, though they have sworn to support them.

The Free Soil Party have their representatives in the Senate of the United States, and in the House of Representatives. Its position towards the South and the Slaves we apprehend to have been emphatically stated, though in more direct words than most of its members are in the habit of using, by Mr. HALE, on the 10th of January, 1849. Hear him!

"I do not wish to interfere with it, (Slavery at the South.) I do not wish to be aggressive. I only wish that we may let it alone. Nay, sir, I am willing — and I speak also in behalf of those who sent me here — I am willing that we should be held responsible to the limit of the Constitutional obligation, for

everything that may be required for the support and sustenance of American Slavery. I am willing to go to the last letter in the bond. If you find in it the pound of flesh, take it; and if you find our heart's best blood written there, take it. I am ready to come up to the work freely, fairly and fully, and to conform to the contract."

This is plain doctrine, but it is the plain English of all those reservations of the Constitution, and of what can be done Constitutionally, with which the Anti-Slavery diatribes of the best Free Soil politicians, are qualified. Mr. GIDDINGS, himself, on the 17th of February, declared in behalf of his constituents that they lived up to the letter of the decision in the case of Prigg!

"These Slaveholding judges do not pretend that this Government, or the people of the Free States, are bound to encourage or sustain Slavery; on the contrary, they solemnly declare that our whole duty is to abstain from secreting, defending, or rescuing the Slave. *These obligations we observe to the very letter.* They may have been violated by individuals; but I have never known an instance of the kind. I have heard and read of cases where citizens of my own State have been convicted of violating these stipulations, and have suffered the legal penalties attached to such violation; but no such case has ever come under my own observation, nor have I heard of such an instance in Northern Ohio."

Are there any more authentic expounders of the Gospel of Free Soil, or Free Democracy, than Mr. HALE and Mr. GIDDINGS? Is this indeed the idea of Free Soil that the Party entertain, that any Soil is Free where a Slave-master is free to come and help himself to his Slave without molestation? And is a Free Democrat one that will stand quietly on this Free Soil and see it done? We admit that they are bound to do this, if they would be true to the Constitution, but they must pardon us if we think their Method inherently vicious and infinitely less practicable, as well as less honest, than ours.

The misfortune of the Free Soil Party is that it has no ground to stand upon. There is no such thing as an inch of Free Soil from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the St. Lawrence to whatever may be for the moment the flying frontier of the Model Republic. For even supposing the possibility of the Wilmot Proviso passing both Houses, and supposing further the impossibility of President TAYLOR's sanctioning it, it would be but mere

*brutum fulmen*, provided the labor of Slaves is wanted there. There is not power enough in the General Government, even if there were the wish, which there is not, to hinder the Slaveholders from going whither they will and carrying their household gods along with them. The protestations of hostility to the extension of Slavery thrown out by the masses of Northern Whigs and Democrats, are mere sprats to catch gudgeons, as hollow as their professions of belief that Slavery cannot exist in the new territories. That this is the opinion of the Free Soil Party is shown by the fact of its continued existence. Did the Free Soilers actually believe these assertions, they would have nothing to do but to repent and return to the house of their Whig and Democratic Fathers. What would be the probability, then, of any such policy being carried out, if it should be adopted as a sop to the Northern Cerberus? Just as great as that the people of Massachusetts will carry out the *ad captandum* Resolutions of their Legislature passed any time for the last ten years.

The Free Soil Party now stands, we apprehend, about where the Liberty Party stood before its euthanasia. That is, it professes to attack Slavery wherever it can be reached, *Constitutionally*. There is as much virtue in that long word as Touchstone says there is in that little monosyllable "if!" It makes all the difference between doing something and doing nothing. The chief difference between the Free Soil and the Liberty Parties, and it is a great one, is, that in the former the respectable and honorable members of it give it its tone and character. And yet, such is their insensate folly, that they permit their leading organ to be branded in the back with the name of Emancipator, and went out of their way to make the Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT one of the Committee to call their State Convention in Massachusetts, although that gentleman is now an inhabitant of New York! We have a high respect for the gentlemen who compose the leadership of the Free Soil Party, but we fear from these specimens of their philosophy, that they lack the wisdom that is profitable to direct a political movement. Their character is their main stock in trade, and they seem foolishly, not to say criminally, careless in their investment of it.

The tendency of the Free Soil Party, ever since the Election of 1848 made known their numerical force, or weakness, has been to amalgamation with the Minority Party of the two Na-



tional ones, in the several States. It has felt the irresistible impulse of political gravitation which ever urges the smaller minority towards the larger. The protracted existence of a Third Party in this country is a moral and political impossibility. A reasonable hope of political success is the life-blood, the breath of the nostrils, of a political party. Deprived of this, it can have but a diseased and spasmodic activity, not springing from an exuberance of life, but from an occasional and temporary excitement. The good impulse to which it often owes its being, can only carry it through its very earliest stage of existence. It grows weaker and weaker with the lapse of time, and soon loses its motive power, if not renewed by the magic of success, or, at least, of hope. In the end, a Third Party must either dwindle away through the discouragement or desertion of its members, or gravitate to one or the other of the great forces of the political world, according to their relative degrees of attraction. The position of party politics at the North necessarily brought the Free-Soil Party in nearest communication with the Democrats, though in one or two cases they fraternized, locally, with the Whigs. This was natural enough. In many respects their affinities are identical, and could a union be effected, the Coalition Party would, unquestionably, have the control of the politics of the Northern States where it existed in good faith. But there are disturbing influences which are at work on both sides to prevent a cordial understanding — an *entente cordiale* — between the treating powers. The mutual fear of being overreached in the bargain, the hungering after the flesh-pots of office which the Democratic Israel well remember to have been enjoyed in the Egypt of a Southern Alliance, and the apprehensions of the Free Soilers that the little they ask for will be conjured away from them in the hugger-mugger of political intrigue, must make the union of the parties difficult where it is in supposition, and dubious where it has been imperfectly effected.

The first movement in the direction of this political union was in Wisconsin, where the marriage was complete, the two parties reciprocally taking each other for better for worse, and mutually endowing one another with all their distinctive political principles. In New York, an abortive attempt was made to unite the two parties at Rome, in August. The two Conventions were in communication with each other, but failed of com-

pleting the contract. The Hunkers, though desirous of coalition, were not willing to make any concession of opinion or power, and the Barnburners would not receive their discarded partners without some promise of conformable behavior. In September, however, this "sweet, reluctant, amorous delay" was at an end, and the two parties were reunited in the bonds of that matrimony which had been broken for some two years. The distress which their quarrels had brought upon them drove them back into each other's arms. The Democratic Convention was held first, and proposed to join with the Barnburners in a ticket *à medietate*, or mixed half and half of both parties. The next week the latter assembled at Utica, and could resist no longer. They agreed to the terms, and though they recapitulated their distinctive principles, they no longer made their acceptance an indispensable preliminary to the Union. The only Resolution passed, touching the bond that was to connect them, beyond the common wish to eject the Whigs and elect their own men, was the following clear and startling one:—

*"Resolved, That principle is the only test in politics acknowledged by Democrats, and that their rule of party action is openly to declare and faithfully to carry out in practice the principles they profess!"*

To make the Union the more solemn a Mass Meeting was held at Syracuse two days after, at which Jubilee the following Resolution was passed:—

*"Resolved, That Congress has the Constitutional power over Slavery in the District of Columbia, and has no power over the subject in the States. That it possesses, in the opinion of this Convention, full power over the subject in the territories of the United States, and should exert that power on all occasions of attempts to introduce it there: but as the Constitutional power is questioned, WE ARE WILLING TO TOLERATE THE FREE EXERCISE OF INDIVIDUAL OPINION OF THAT QUESTION AMONG MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FAMILY, WHO ARE WILLING TO RALLY UNDER OUR STANDARD, AND SUPPORT THE TICKET NOMINATED BY THE RECENT STATE CONVENTION."*

And the following was *rejected*!

*"Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of Slavery into the territories of the United States, and that we will use all Constitutional means necessary to prevent such extension."*

And into this Union many of the most prominent members of the old Liberty Party went rejoicing, and entered into the rest for which they had long been sighing. Mr. GERRIT SMITH, however, and a small company of his personal friends and neighbors, who hold to the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution, picked up the rejected name and baptized themselves anew with it. If any political party can earn the credit of sincerity from the utter hopelessness of success, it must certainly be awarded to this select body. The result in New York was a gain upon the Whigs, which nearly changed the Ascendancy of the State. A result which it is nearly certain will be accomplished next year.

Similar coalitions, more or less perfect, were effected in other States. In our own the example was not followed soon enough to secure the unseating of the dominant party. It seemed as if this might have been done, inasmuch as the two minority parties together were in a majority of more than Twelve Thousand, in 1848. The Union, however, could not be completed. There was no attempt to amalgamate the two parties into one, but merely to agree to support mixed tickets for Senators and Representatives, which, if carried through, would have given the coalescing parties the control of the State. The plan was successful only in three counties, by which means thirteen Senators, Free Soil and Democratic, were elected. A much larger minority was also returned to the House than last year, but the Taylor party have the control of the State Government and a sufficient working majority.

The most singular negligence on the part of the Free Soilers of Massachusetts, and one that argues an incurable infirmity of constitution, is that which has resulted in the repeated defeat of Mr. PALFREY, in the Fourth District. In view of the importance of this election to their party, both as regards its political and moral weight, it seems nothing short of political lunacy that has misdirected their conduct. At the Second trial, in June, he lacked less than a hundred votes of an election, and at each successive trial his minority has been growing more and more hopeless. There can be little doubt that had strenuous efforts been put forth previous to either the second or third trials, and the District had been thoroughly agitated, the result would have been his election. But, it seems, that they, in the innocence of

their hearts, of good set purpose, abstained from agitation, "lest they should excite the other two parties!" As if a General should decline engaging the enemy before him, in the expectation that they might die natural deaths! We can assure the Free Soil Party that victories are not obtained by sitting still, but by hard fighting. We apprehend that their supineness has sacrificed the prospects of the man who is the rightful head of the political opposition to Slavery, under the Constitution, if singleness of purpose, eminent ability, and unshaken integrity are the proper qualifications of a political Chief.

We have gone a good deal into detail with regard to the Free Soil Party, because we imagine we shall never have to deal with it again, at least in its present form. It lacks the consistency and persistency indispensable to partizan longevity. There are but two consistent political movements now on foot in this country. One is that of Mr. GERRIT SMITH and his followers, who hold the Constitution to be an Anti-Slavery instrument, and are trying to get into power for the purpose of incontinently abolishing Slavery in all the States by the paramount power of Congress. These gentlemen are perfectly consistent; and if they can but succeed in opening the eyes of this stiff-necked and perverse generation by their verbal logic and dialectic hairsplittings, and convince them that nobody has understood the fundamental law, not even the framers of it, until *they* were providentially raised up to expound it, and then if they can but prevail on a majority of the Nation to join with them in their philanthropic purpose, we shall no doubt witness a great deliverance, — provided always, the Slaveholding States are obliging enough to remain and be operated upon. The other consistent party is the Garrisonian Disunionists, who, accepting the adjudged meaning of the Constitution to be the Law of the Land, refuse to be bound by it or to swear to support it, and, standing outside of it, try to destroy it, or to persuade the North to withdraw its allegiance to it. These parties are, neither of them, numerically powerful; but there is a wide difference between their moral force. A small political party, however honest, which proposes to effect its ends by political machinery, is essentially absurd, because extreme disproportion of means to ends is a natural element of the ridiculous. To see a handful of honest gentlemen struggling to raise one another to office, for the

sake of doing what no other sane man believes they have the right or the power of doing, must be allowed to be a rather comic spectacle. But there is no disproportion between moral means and ends however distant or however vast.

An honest Protestant, who stands in a position unmistakably disinterested, possesses a power which is the greater because it has no elements by which to calculate its extent. It is a natural law, and not a miracle, that one such shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. For instance, GARRISON and the obscure handful he gathered around him at the commencement of the Anti-Slavery movement created a greater panic at the South and a stronger disturbance at the North than the whole Free Soil Party in 1848, with an Ex-president at its head, and ex-governors, and ex-senators by the dozen at its tail. Our Belshazzars trembled and their knees smote together, in the presence of the Daniel who expounded the handwriting upon their walls, rather than at the thundering of the Medes and Persians at the gates of their Babylon. The sagacious Slaveholders foresaw the Free Soil Party and whatever other shapes the Anti-Slavery spirit thus evoked would take, though darkly and as in a glass, and they therefore insisted on the extermination of the Wizard and his crew. The same power is still exerted by them only in a vastly greater degree and over a vastly wider field. Whether the Free Soilers throw away their chance of incorporation with the Democrats or improve it, we shall still try and make them and the rest of the nation as uncomfortable as we can. The Agitation shall be kept up as long as we have breath and strength, until the political battery is brought into the right position.

#### FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

The condition of that unfortunate class which exists in every Free State, as a memento of the Slavery that once existed there, as well as of that under which a sixth of the American Nation still groan, must ever be a subject of warm interest to all who have any sense of Justice and Humanity. The prejudice from which springs the political incapacities with which they are visited in almost all of the Free States, and the social injuries which afflict them in every one of them, is the necessary

consequence of that Enslavement—the greatest of earthly wrongs—which, if our Fathers established, we sustain and perpetuate. The prejudice of Color is but the Shadow which Slavery projects upon the hearts of those who live within its reach. As soon as the monstrous Substance shall be removed from between the sun and us, its Shade will flee away and curse us no more. The hatred which the injurer instinctively bears to the injured has displayed itself in a thousand shapes in all the relations of life, at the North, as well as in the South. At the polls, on the rail-ways, in the school-house, the Church and the Grave-yard this hatred has pursued its victims. If there be any signs of a better day coming, if the rights of colored men as men are now in any degree recognized in a fuller manner than of old, if the degrading distinctions which law or custom made between races have been at all mitigated, these results are due to the Abolitionists, and to the Anti-Slavery Agitation they have maintained. The amelioration of the condition of the People of Color has followed, though with a tardier step than we could have wished, the earnest efforts which have been put forth for the deliverance of their brethren in bonds. Whatever the Anti-Slavery Enterprise may have failed to do, in the opinion of its (unfriendly) friends, for the Emancipation of the Southern Slaves, it cannot well be denied the credit of having, in some good degree, improved the condition, animated the hopes and brightened the prospects of their injured brethren at the North.

The colored inhabitants, for *citizens* they can hardly be called, of Connecticut, after the infamous refusal of the people of that State, two years since, to admit them to equal political privileges, met in Convention at New Haven, on the 12th and 13th of September, to consider of their condition and of what could be done to improve it. It issued a temperate and well-argued Address to the Colored Men of the State, urging upon them a continual Claim for their rights of citizenship, and such a course of life and conduct as should prove that their disfranchisement arose from the tinge God had given to their skins, and not from any deficiency of intelligence or virtue. We hope that even the Pro-Slavery darkness which her intimate commercial relations with the South has poured over Connecticut may be sufficiently dispelled to show her the disgraceful as well as useless folly of

her exclusive Constitution. We are sure it will, if there are genuine Abolitionists enough in the State to besiege the Legislature without ceasing, and extort from the Unjust Judge by their importunity the justice denied to the rightfulness of their cause.

A very large Meeting of the Colored People of the City of New York to protest against that stupendous Imposture, the American Colonization Society, and especially against the statements in England, of one of its authorized agents, that the Colored People were favorable to that enforced Expatriation, was held on the 23d of April, and was very numerous and ably addressed. The recent history of that Movement and the importance of a full expression of opinion on the part of the Colored People in relation to it, was distinctly set forth, and illustrated and enforced by a long array of facts and arguments. The pretended Independence of Liberia, and its professed manumission by the Colonization Society, though supported by treaties with Great Britain and France, does not seem to have increased its favor in the eyes of the intelligent portion of the People of Color in the United States. The friendly reception of President ROBERTS by those Courts, and their recognition of the nationality of Liberia, however ill we may think that it was deserved, is a striking reproof of the mean and cruel treatment to which his race is condemned by the United States, collectively, and the several States, separately, with scarcely what may be justly called an exception. We trust that the honest hatred borne by Colored Americans to the Colonization Scheme will not be suffered to grow cold, but that they will forever protest against it as an enemy of their race as deadly as it is insidious.

The question of the Citizenship of persons of African descent has been widely discussed, during the past year, in consequence of Mr. CLAYTON, the Secretary of State, having refused a Passport to one of that extraction, on account of his color. The Prime Minister of our Anti-Slavery President informed the applicant that "Passports are not granted to Persons of Color, and that Protections are only given to them when they are in the service of Diplomatic Agents, &c., of the United States, going abroad." Attention was first drawn to this outrage by the Pennsylvania Freeman and the Anti-Slavery Standard, and was soon taken up by the Northern opponents of the Taylor Administra-

tion. The Anti-Slavery Whig Party at the North were perplexed to find excuse for this action of its Ministers at Washington. The precedents established by an almost unbroken succession of Slaveholding Secretaries of State, were what they mainly relied upon. But, unfortunately for them precedents were found on the other side, passports having been granted to the Rev. PETER WILLIAMS and Mr. ROBERT PURVIS, if not to others. Secretary BUCHANAN, one of the few Northern Premiers, in the case of WILLIAM P. POWELL, by implication said that a passport would not have been refused to him on account of his color, had he been able to substantiate his citizenship otherwise. It was a source of great distress to the Northern Presses of the Taylor Anti-Slavery stamp, inasmuch as they could not defend the act and yet would not condemn the Agent. Whether Secretary CLAYTON really did run before he was sent, and thought to recommend himself to the South by refusing to do what Slaveholding FORSYTH had done, or whether such be indeed the rule of the Department, is yet a moot question. But this extending the disfranchisement of a numerous class of citizens, at the pleasure of the Head of a Department, to the whole world, is but a fair exposition of the temper and character of the Nation, while its being made by the Head of the Whig Administration is a strong symptom of the quality of that Anti-Slavery Millennium which its Seers prophesied as at hand, during the days of its Captivity.

The struggle which the Colored People of Boston have been making, in years past, for their admission to equal rights in the Public Schools of that City, has been going on with increasing spirit. They have neglected no proper means to express their sense of the injury they suffer from the Caste School to which their children are condemned. Boston is, we believe, the last place in Massachusetts which makes a stand for the privilege of making the prejudice of color a part of Common School Education. Salem, Nantucket, New Bedford among the large towns, and also the smaller ones from necessity, act on the principle of equality of rights in the School-room. Boston, alone, claims the distinction of being the last that will yield to the spirit of Progress that is making Old Things New. On the 23d of July a numerous meeting of the Colored Citizens of Boston was held to remonstrate against the continuance of the



Smith School, which it denounced as a Public Nuisance that should be immediately annihilated. An Address to the Mayor and Aldermen, expressing these opinions, demanding their rights, and declaring that it was not their duty to rest satisfied with anything short of their rights, was adopted by the Meeting. This remonstrance appears to have had but little effect, inasmuch as the School Committee refused to close the School, and it is still in operation. In the Committee, the Report offered by CHARLES T. RUSSELL, Esq., on the part of the minority of the Sub-Committee to which it was referred, to the effect that the colored children should be permitted to go the Ward Schools, if they pleased, but that the Smith School should be kept open for the benefit of those that chose to use it, was rejected, and that of the majority, offered by the Rev. Dr. BIGELOW, upholding the separate system, was adopted. Subsequently, Mr. THOMAS PAUL, was appointed Master, the Committee appearing to think that the selection of a colored man to the office of Teacher, would have a tendency to reconcile the minds of the injured parties to the system. That it has not had this effect has been manifested at subsequent meetings, one of which was disgracefully disturbed, which emphatically reiterated their former Protest against it.

One reason given by the School Committee for its action, was, that a suit at law was pending to settle the Constitutionality of the Municipal Law, establishing a School on the ground of complexion. As if this were not a question to be settled on principles antecedent to Constitutions and superior to bye-laws! This action, *Roberts vs. the City of Boston*, came up for argument before the Supreme Court, on the 4th of December, and was argued by ROBERT MORRIS and CHARLES SUMNER, Esqs., for the Plaintiff, and THEOPHILUS P. CHANDLER, Esq., the City Solicitor, for the Defendant. Mr. SUMNER's argument was marked by great depth of research, clearness of statement, and force of reasoning. It has since been published and widely circulated, and has excited general admiration by the masterly style of its execution. The decision of the Bench is not yet given; but we hope that in our next year's Report we shall have to record that the last legal trace of Slavery was wiped away by the hand of Justice, guided by the Constitution of the State, as was Slavery itself in 1796 in obedience to the Bill of Rights. But should we

be disappointed in this hope, it will then be the duty of all of us to call upon the Legislature to pass a General Law settling this question forever in favor of Justice and Equal Rights.

ESCAPING SLAVES.

The tide which has been flowing for so many years, but especially since the inception of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, from the South to the North, of the Slave population, has continued to pour in a swelling flood, in spite of the increased vigilance and angry care of the Slave-masters. The love of freedom has proved to be indeed stronger than the fear of death, and dangers in the most frightful shapes have been dared, so that liberty might be achieved. Here, again, we may point with pride to one of the triumphs of the Abolitionists. Where one Slave made a successful escape twenty years ago, probably fifty make good their flight, now. In this State, and in others, an attempt at recapture is unheard of, and none has been made, here, for more than seven years. The fact seems to have become an established one that the trouble and expense of reclaiming a Slave that has reached one of the New England States, is more than he is worth. And who have produced the state of things of which this is the result? The Abolitionists, and the Abolitionists only. Had it not been for their incessant importunity, the gaol of Boston would still be, as it was in former years, as freely used for the detention of fugitives, as that of Richmond or of Washington.

The number of attempts at escape which were defeated by the vigilance of the authorities, or by the baseness of Northern Captains, is greater than we have room to record. While Slavery exists these must needs be numerous in proportion to the number of successful efforts. The number of seizures, in the Middle States, of persons as Slaves has been considerable. A man named Belt who was arrested in New York as a Maryland Slave, and whose case excited a strong interest there, was discharged by Judge Edmonds, on the ground that the legal existence of Slavery in Maryland was not properly established, and also that a master could only hold a Slave for the purpose of establishing his claim to him before a Magistrate, and that the return in this case expressly excluded such intention. When

this decision was announced, the counsel of the claimant told him to seize his Slave himself, but the excitement in and around the Court-house was so great, that he not only interposed no obstacle in the way of Belt's withdrawal, but applied to the Court for protection for his own person. We think that not many more open attempts to reclaim Slaves by legal process will be made even in New York. The danger of kidnapping is the one the most sedulously to be guarded against, now. Of this there have been several cases, in one of which, at least, the offenders met with a condign punishment. In some of the States bordering on Slavery this crime is said to be carried on systematically, and though the perpetrators are known, they cannot be reached on account of the legal incompetency of colored persons to bear witness against whites. Well may such laws be called *Black Laws*! Black are the hearts from which they issued, or which suffer them to exist.

Another has been added to the noble army of those martyrs who have suffered for assisting in the escape of Slaves, in the person of RICHARD DILLINGHAM, of Illinois. This young man, a member of the Society of Friends, was arrested in Tennessee in the commission of this crime. When brought into Court he did not deny the charge, and stated that in doing what he did he was but following out the principles which he had been taught from his youth upward. His ingenuous and manly deportment won him this much favor at least, that he received the lightest sentence the law allowed for his offence, three years in the Penitentiary. Mr. FAIRBANK, after serving for several years in the Penitentiary of Kentucky, has been released by pardon, an act of clemency which has brought down upon the head of the Government of that State a world of Pro-Slavery reproach. Captain DRAYTON, whose attempt with Captain SAYRES excited so much attention last year, was tried last Spring at Washington, and acquitted on the indictment found against him, but was detained in prison on other charges, arising out of the same humane attempt.

Two instances of daring escape, indicative the one of the moral and the other of the physical endurance which the hope of escaping from Slavery will inspire, have occurred since we met last year. WILLIAM and ELLEN CRAFTS made their way, last Spring, from the interior of Georgia to Philadelphia, the

wife disguised as a man and passing as the master of her husband. The fairness of her complexion made the deception easy and they passed without suspicion. The intelligence and modesty of their character and conduct has won for them many friends and they have done good service by their attendance at Anti-Slavery Meetings, the interest of which was materially increased by the recital of their romantic story. The other case was that of HENRY BROWN, who for the chance of liberty consented to be packed in a box and sent as merchandize from Richmond to Philadelphia. In this confined condition he passed twenty-seven hours, part of them on his head, and reached his journey's end in safety. This case excited great interest and attention and he has drawn large audiences in various parts of the country, where he has held meetings for the purpose of telling his story. Several other Richmond Slaves, attempting to escape by the same means, were detected at the outset. The person who assisted them was arrested and punished. Surely no eloquence can speak in tones like these of the horrors of that servitude, to escape from which it was not too much for men and women to encounter such experiences as these!

## HUNGARIAN SYMPATHIZERS.

Perhaps there is no fitter place than this in which to allude to the wicked and absurd inconsistency of the American People, in pretending to feel for the down-trodden and oppressed of other lands, while they are standing with their feet planted on the necks and hearts of one-sixth of their countrymen. Of the sympathy uttered for the Revolutionary Struggles in Europe, as far as they were then developed, we spoke last year. This year, the attempt of Austria to destroy the Nationality of Hungary by a crushing Centralization, and the interposition of Russia to put down the resistance this attempt had excited, and which, without this, would have been successful, has aroused the vaporizing spirit which calls itself love of liberty in this country. It proposed recognizing Hungary before she had achieved her independence, sending her supplies of men and money, and doing various things, lawful and unlawful, for her aid and comfort. And since her fate is sealed and her defenders are driven into exile, they are welcomed to our shores by public authorities, en-

tertained at public expense, and a Slaveholding Senator has had the impudence to propose the withdrawal of diplomatic relations with Austria, on the ground that we are so much holier than she! As if this country, with all its political arrangements planned to give security and supremacy to a small junto of petty tyrants like this FOOTE, of Mississippi, were worthy to unloose the latchet of the shoes of a Hapsburgh or a Romanoff!

The position of the Hungarians is indeed one to enlist the warm sympathies of every generous mind. A proud nation stripped in a moment of privileges extorted centuries ago, and confirmed by successive generations of kings and kaisars, by a stripling Emperor, who, though in the line of succession, is constitutionally an usurper, rising in arms to vindicate its rights against a first class Power, is a spectacle which we have all been brought up to admire, and which has elements of the truly admirable in it. And when a yet mightier empire poured down its hordes in a crusade for the re-establishment of Absolutism into the Hungarian Territory and the inhabitants kept both enemies at bay, notwithstanding the tremendous odds against them, a deeper indignation and a livelier sympathy was well excited by the spectacle. For it was a conflict between Right and Wrong in which we could wish well but to one side. And the energies of mind and matter, the apparition of great men in obedience to the strong summons of the great Occasion and the creation of physical resources out of nothing, which it called into being, are things which find answering sentiments in all hearts that feel and all heads that think. There is a magic in the unconquerable will and the resolute devotion of life and life's worth to a public end which must meet a response even in those breasts which perceive the most clearly the barbarism and insufficiency of the manifestation they have taken upon themselves. Whatever may be thought of the shape which the spirit of resistance to tyranny may assume at any particular time or point of the world's history, the evidence of its existence must be accepted as a sure prophecy of a higher coming civilization not yet evolved from the bosom of the Ages.

We do not complain, therefore, of the interest which any sincere lover of liberty feels in the Hungarian contest, nor of any expression of it which is a relief to any honest heart. On the contrary we welcome both wherever we can imagine them to be

sincere. But we do hold to the reasonableness of trying the sincerity of all such professions by applying to them the touchstone of the conduct of the professors. Dr. Johnson was not far out of the way when he contemptuously asked in his *Taxation No Tyranny*, "how is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of Negroes?" He applied this test to our Revolutionary Fathers, and showed them to be wanting in the truest sense of human rights, of the truth of which our whole history for sixty years, and especially our current history, is thick with proof. A sympathizer with the oppressed at least ought not to be a tyrant himself. It is the commonest sense to demand that he who overflows with indignation at foreign interference to crush Rights struggling for existence with overshadowing despotism, should not be doing the very same thing in his own person. And yet this country presents a spectacle of Human Rights trodden into annihilation at one end of it, and of a perpetual armed intervention to put down the oppressed for the benefit of the oppressor, at the other, of which the struggle between Hungary and the Empire of Austria, and the armed interference of the Autocracy of Russia does not approach near enough to be a parallel. It is unfair to Francis Joseph and Nicholas to put them into the same category with ourselves.

In one part of our country is a perpetual war raging between two races of men. One has the upper hand by virtue of an absolute majority of numbers and the monopoly of all the education, wealth and military resources. The dominant party exercises a daily and hourly tyranny over their vanquished vassals greater in degree and worse in kind, not only than that which Austria has ever pretended to exert over the Hungarian Nobles, but greater than those Nobles themselves ever dreamed of exercising over their own Serfs. They have not even the poor privilege of being chained to the soil, and thus knowing at least the full extent of their misery. However miserable their estate at present may be, they have not the satisfaction of knowing that it is the worst that they can suffer. The pure despotism which broods over them possesses the power, never permitted to fall into disuse, of breaking the ties by which Nature strives to make their lot endurable, and condemning them, for no crime, to a life-long exile from all the scenes and hearts they love, to inhospitable climes cursed with yet intenser cruelty and wrong.

A nation of petty despots, a race proverbially the most cruel of any, and reigning by brute force and intellectual power, by literal chains and scourges, and by a compelled ignorance over a nation of abject Slaves, the victims of one eternal Reign of Terror! And these men had the impudence to exult in the resistance of the Hungarians to Austrian and Russian aggression! And this is by no means the most disgusting spectacle which our country affords in this regard.

For while this war is waged every day in our Southern country, it is only by the permission of the allies of the tyrants at the North. It is by the Intervention of the Non-Slaveholders that the scale of tyranny is made to weigh down that of liberty. The state of things which Nicholas has brought about for the Hungarians by the brute force of his Empire, we have maintained for sixty years by ours for the sable nation beyond our Southern frontier. If we have not poured in our armies to suppress their insurrection, it was because we have made one hopeless by our near presence, always ready, an unnumbered multitude, to crush it under the tread of our feet. We have been doing the work of the standing armies of Continental Europe since the fall of Napoleon, keeping down the manifestation of the Spirit of Liberty among oppressed millions by the continual threat and presence of our physical predominance. And all the time we have been doing what the Turks disdained to do, catching their victims who have sought safety in flight, and restoring them to their lords, making our soil equally a hostile one for them with that they had fled from, and all for some selfish advantages, of which after all we have been cheated! Precious indeed is our sympathy with the struggling Nations and instructive our example!

The analogy between our attitude towards the Slaveholders and the Slaves and that of Russia towards Austria and Hungary is perfect, or the difference, if any, is not in our favor. It is through our Holy Alliance, offensive and defensive, that the masters possess their souls in peace and their chattels in safety. It is only by the breach of that Alliance that any ray of hope can penetrate to the dungeon over which we keep guard. Slavery can only be abolished in two ways. By the concession of the master, grounded upon his perception of its necessity or its expediency, or both; or by the good right hand of the Slaves

themselves, appealing to Arms and the God of Battles. Both these methods are rendered virtually impossible by the Union of these States, as now existing. As to the first, how can it ever be necessary for the master to manumit his Slaves so long as he has four or five millions of allies, expressly to enable him to defy it? Or how can it ever be expedient, speaking after the manner of men, when we have so arranged the terms of our partnership that his possession of a potential voice and overbearing influence in our own affairs depends on his holding Slaves as a condition precedent? And as to the last, what resolution even from despair could an intelligent Slave cherish under the shadow of half a Continent ready to fall upon his head if he but move in his chains? Desperate submission or partial revenge is all the resource that is left him. The three conditions of our National Union, the *bonus* allowed the Slaveholder to induce him to continue one, in the three-fifths clause, the pledge of the physical force of the Nation against domestic insurrection, and the right of recapture, are the ties which bind the Slave to his despair. The Gordian knots are so inextricably fastened about us as well as him that we are at the mercy of the master as well as he, until we can pluck up the courage to cut them through. Then we may with some face sympathize with the "desolate and oppressed" everywhere, and hear of their struggles without feeling ashamed of ourselves.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

There was never a more successful Meeting of the National Society held, since its formation, than that of last May. The Anniversary was held in the Tabernacle, in New York, on the 8th of May, and was attended by a crowded audience. After the introductory services, and the reading of an appropriate portion of the Prophets, with fitting comments, by Mr. GARRISON, Mr. QUINCY proposed a series of Resolutions, of which the three following were the concluding ones.

"*Resolved*, That that which is giving strength, extension and perpetuity to Slavery, — to wit, THE UNION, — on being overthrown by a peaceful withdrawal from it by the Non-Slaveholding States, for conscience sake and for self-preservation, must



necessarily weaken, limit and speedily extirpate Slavery from the American soil; Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the motto of every Christian and every Patriot should be '*No Union with Slaveholders, either religiously or politically*.'

"*Resolved*, That this is not a question of expediency, on which action may be innocently deferred 'till a more convenient season,' but one of absolute Morality,—of obedience to God and fidelity to Mankind,—to be met and carried out to the letter."

The great auditory was addressed in succession by Messrs. PILLSBURY, PHILLIPS and DOUGLASS, with great power and effect. Their speeches were fully reported, and produced a deep and wide impression. The Resolutions above cited, and portions of Mr. PHILLIPS' Speech, were quoted in Congress and copied extensively into the Southern papers. The press of the country generally gave circulation to these incendiary ideas by the condemnation they were swift to heap upon them. Perhaps, no Meeting ever contributed so much to the general understanding by the country at large of the peculiar Philosophy and Method of the American Society.

The Business Meetings of the Society were held in the Minerva Rooms, and were continued through the third day. They were fully attended by Abolitionists during the day and by a miscellaneous company in the evenings. The best known Anti-Slavery Speakers kept up a lively interest in the proceedings, to the last. The business of the Society was despatched with entire unanimity and all departed with their hearts comforted and their resolutions strengthened.

#### THE STANDARD.

The importance of maintaining the Standard, as the Organ of the Society, was a topic that occupied a good deal of the attention of the members. The circumstance that it does not pay its own expenses has led some of the best friends of the cause to the opinion that the funds appropriated to it might have some more effectual direction given to them. This, however, has not been the view of the majority of the Executive Committee, or of the Society. The vital necessity of such a

Symbol of the existence of the National Movement, and of such an Organ of its utterance, appears to them to justify any amount of expenditure necessary to the object, and attainable for it. The ability and fidelity with which it has been conducted for so many years by Mr. GAY, assisted during the preceding volume by the wit, sound reasoning and poetry of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, had stamped upon it a character, the influence of which, in their opinion, it would be unwise to abandon. The services of EDMUND QUINCY as an additional Corresponding Editor were procured, and the paper has continued to appear, and we believe with undiminished power and interest.

The establishment and support of the Standard for the last ten years have been among the most pregnant proofs of vitality and tenacity of life, that the Abolitionists have ever shown. Begun without a single subscriber, at a time when the Movement Proper was betrayed and deserted by almost all who had seemed to be its incarnate embodiment, its property made away with, its character maligned, its supporters slandered — “their life’s life lied away,” — it has been maintained without interruption for nine years, and we hope will continue to wrestle with the storm as long as the existence of Slavery compels into being the antagonist entity of Abolitionism. The importance of the Organ of a Combination against any public iniquity, is to be very imperfectly measured by its subscription list, and indeed is, in some measure, independent of it. The utterer of unpalatable doctrine, of hated truth, was never yet popular. If he escape such martyrdom as his age deals in, at least he cannot expect it to afford him a comfortable support. If it will lend him its ears, and that grudgingly, it is all that he can hope for. But there must be a Voice to cry in the Wilderness, “Repent and flee from the Wrath to come,” although locusts and wild honey must be its meat. The scattered labors of our little remnant of war-worn veterans, invaluable and all essential as they are, are almost lost sight of in the immensity of their field. They need a central organ to magnify their office and to proclaim and record their successes. Men require some single point to which to look to know whether the Anti-Slavery Movement has still an existence, and what are the proofs of vitality that it is affording. The flag at the mast-head of a man-of-war may be but an inconsiderable piece of bunting; but it is the emblem of nation-

ality, and gives friends and foes to know whether it holds its own or whether it has yielded to the enemy.

The soundness of this philosophy has been proved by the history of all assaults upon the strongholds of national and social crime. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society during its days of life, previous to the Abolition of British Slavery, (since which time it has had a name to live, but has been worse than dead,) depended on the contributions of Abolitionists for the support of its Organ and Publications. So with the efforts for the suppression of Intemperance, War, Capital Punishment, and other public evils, on both sides of the water. Probably in no instance has the organ of any Society gathered for the removal of these, or analogous evils, sustained itself by sales and subscriptions. And this for the obvious reason that men will not pay for the rebukes of their darling sins. But which of those Movements could have had any abiding effect or continuing influence had it not been for the Medium through which each spoke to the World? We believe the *Standard* has done as well in this respect, taking into consideration the vastly greater obstacles it has had to encounter, as any of its contemporaries of a Reforming character. Nay, better. For the odiousness of the truths it enunciates has been, in an unusual degree, compensated for by the ability which has marked its editorial conduct, and the sterling excellence of the matter it has contained. Thousands and tens of thousands read it who do not pay for it, and to the press, far and wide, South as well as North, it is the chief channel through which Anti-Slavery light and influence flows. The Abolitionists are obliged to furnish their food to the hungry, not merely, in many cases, without money and without price, but even to send out and compel them to come in on those terms.

To do this is the duty and the privilege of every true Abolitionist, and in the performance of this work we commend to them all, every where, the extension of the circulation of the *Standard*. In the remoter parts of the country the interests of the paper must be mainly left in the hands of its local friends. The small body of agents which the Executive Committee have been able to direct to this work have devoted themselves to the attempt to obtain a local support for the paper in Eastern New-York. Let the Abolitionists, and all subscribers who value an

exclusively Anti-Slavery paper, see to it that the *Standard* suffers no detriment through their neglect. Let them continue their own subscriptions, collect those in their neighborhood, and procure additional subscribers. Much, we know from personal experience, can be done in this way. Enough to keep the present list whole, and to make the subscriptions obtained by special efforts a clear gain. Let every one bring this home to his own business and bosom, and give a very moderate share of time and attention to it, and a great and beneficent work will be done.

## THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

The Annual Gathering of the faithful Abolitionists of New England, assisted as usual by friends from various parts of the Union, took place in Boston on the 29th of May, and continued in session until Thursday night. WENDELL PHILLIPS presided over it for the chief of the time. The meetings were held at the Melodeon, which was thronged from the opening to the close, excepting the last, which was held in Faneuil Hall. The interest of the meetings was enhanced by the presence of the CRAFTS and of BROWN, to whom the middle name of Box, in honor of his method of escape, has been accorded by general consent. The various topics of interest which the time suggested were embodied in the Resolutions and discussed in the amplest manner. A plan for the continuance and extension of the system of Conventions, originated by the last year's Convention was adopted, and funds raised to carry it out. The speeches were almost uniformly of a very high order, and could hardly fail to make a strong impression on the large multitudes who were drawn together to hear them; and the interest of the members and of the spectators went on increasing to the last. There is no Meeting in that week of Conventions that approaches the Anti-Slavery Convention in general interest and specific benefit; which attracts together such a variety of characters and conditions, or leaves so beneficent an impression on those who assist in its deliberations or witness them from without.

## THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The birth-day of American Liberty, which has so sadly disappointed the auguries of its nativity, had a due celebration, by the Members and Friends of this Society, at Abington, in the beautiful Grove, which we have mentioned in former Reports as the scene of successful Anti-Slavery Meetings. A special train conveyed a numerous body of the Abolitionists of Boston and its neighborhood to the spot, where they were met by zealous friends from the Old Colony and more remote parts of the State. The weather was extremely fine, being precisely the right temperature for an open air meeting. The attendance was much larger than usual. The grounds were quite thronged with holiday groups, and the masses around the platform were densely packed and profoundly attentive. Mr. STETSON made a speech in the morning overflowing with *bonhomie*, full of deep feeling relieved by playful humor and sparkling wit, looking at the cause from the most encouraging point of view. Messrs. GARRISON, QUINCY, W. W. BROWN and BUFFUM, also took part in the morning services. The speaking during the day was interspersed by Anti-Slavery Songs by the Assembly.

After the recess, during which the company broke up into picturesque parties, sitting each with its basket and its store in groups under the trees, WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke for about an hour and a half with even uncommon effect. His speech had in an unusual degree the air of a well considered and thoroughly prepared Oration, although it was purely extemporaneous. He described what the American People had done for themselves and for the world, how Slavery had always hindered them of a perfect success, how it had debased and be-littled the national character, how easy it would be to get rid of it were it really the will of the North, and the happy state of things which would ensue. It was a sustained and felicitous effort of a high order, happily illustrated and strikingly enforced. Afterwards BROWN of the Box occupied all the time the Meeting could spare with his Narrative, which was unluckily cut short by the iron necessity which chained us to the wheels of the inexorable cars.

## THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

The Festival which we annually hold in honor of the great Act of British Justice which so signally puts to shame the vain-glorious boastings of the Model Republicans, and compels us to take a lower place among the lovers of Liberty than the Monarchy from which we came forth, was celebrated this year at Worcester. President TAYLOR having issued a Proclamation calling upon all his people to fast on the Third of August as a propitiation of the Divine displeasure, manifested in the prevalence of the Cholera, we thought we could not better express our sense of this proposition than by turning it into a day of Thanksgiving and rejoicing. We accordingly substituted the Third of August for the First as the day of our Jubilee.

A very numerous company went up by Special Train from Boston, the various Railways that radiate from that city furnishing their contingents. The Meeting was held in a Grove, which was thronged with attentive listeners, though it was not well adapted for the purpose of such an occasion. Mr. GARRISON presided, and he together with Mr. C. C. BURLEIGH and Mr. THEODORE PARKER occupied the chief of the morning. Their speeches were of a most telling and impressive nature. In the afternoon, Mr. BALLOU began with a speech full of transparent good sense and moral demonstration. Mr. PHILLIPS followed and clearly and eloquently set forth the philosophy of the West India Emancipation, — how it was brought about, how it had worked, the points of difference between American and English Statesmen in regard to Slavery, and the comparative facility of Emancipation in this country compared with the West Indies. Mr. RALPH WALDO EMERSON followed Mr. PHILLIPS in a brief speech marked by his peculiar tone of thought and expression.

Mr. GARRISON and Mr. BURLEIGH finished the afternoon's session with appropriate speeches. From the numbers left on the ground when the endless Special Train departed, there must have been a very large attendance from Worcester and the country round about. We, at least, had the satisfaction of knowing that we had kept not the Fast which ZACHARY TAYLOR had appointed, but that which the Lord hath chosen.

This Meeting was also remarkable as being the occasion of the first public exposure of the conduct of Father MATHEW, the Irish Apostle of Temperance, in relation to the Anti-Slavery Movement in this country. This distinguished gentleman having signed in the year 1842, in common with DANIEL O'CONNELL and seventy thousand of his countrymen, an "Address from the People of Ireland to their countrymen and countrywomen in America," an account of which and its reception will be found in our Report for 1843; urging them to be true to Liberty in this country, "to treat the Colored People as their equals, as brethren, to hate Slavery and to cling by the Abolitionists," it was thought that it would show a lack of due courtesy and of proper gratitude for such marked action in our behalf, to neglect inviting him to participate in our rejoicings at the Memorable Emancipation of the British bondmen. Accordingly we appointed Messrs. GARRISON, JACKSON, PHILLIPS and Dr. BOWDITCH to wait upon him and convey to him our respectful congratulations on his arrival, our good wishes for the success of his mission, and our cordial invitation to our Festival. In the performance of this duty, the first and last named of the above mentioned gentlemen waited upon Father MATHEW at his lodgings. His deportment and language on that occasion were such as to disappoint the hopes and expectations his conduct in Ireland had excited. The letter of invitation which was left in his hands, he never answered, and he has maintained a prudent, or cowardly silence on the subject ever since. Under these circumstances, Mr. GARRISON felt that he had no alternative, and that his own statement of the interview must make good the small courtesy of our invited guest. His statement was subsequently published in the Liberator and copied from thence extensively into papers of every complexion of politics. As that statement has not been denied by the Very Reverend gentleman, and as it is desirable to put it in a place convenient for reference, we shall add it, together with our letter of invitation and the original Irish Address,\* in the Appendix.

This occurrence excited a very general interest throughout this country. The interest which was felt in Father MATHEW's mission everywhere attracted universal attention to this

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\* See Appendix, B.

passage in his history. The press teemed with opinions on the subject, almost universally justifying him, and condemning the conduct of the Abolitionists, as uncalled for and impertinent. The agitation spread over the South as well as over the North, and there was a disposition, to a considerable extent, to regard his repulse of Mr. GARRISON and his friends as an atonement for his misdeeds at home. But not only the account of the interview with the Committee was copied, but the Address itself was spread at large before Southern as well as Northern readers. In consequence of this, Judge LUMPKIN, of Georgia, who had sent Father MATHEW a cordial invitation to visit that State, on behalf of the Temperance Societies, wrote to him to know how this thing was, and whether he had signed that Address, and if so, whether he still held the same opinions. The reply was marked "private;" so that the honorable Judge was unable exactly to define to the anxious Georgians, the precise position of the Very Reverend Father. But that it was not entirely satisfactory may be inferred from the fact that he withdrew his former invitation, so that if Father MATHEW visits those latitudes it will be on his own responsibility. Thus he has forfeited the respect of the Abolitionists without gaining that of the Slaveholders. Having once committed himself as he did in signing the Irish Address, the Slaveholders will not be pacified by so slight a genuflexion as he made at Boston. Nothing short of an entire prostration will content them. Although Father MATHEW hears little but the sound of adulation, he can hardly help being conscious that the respect of mankind is purchased by resolution of character and is sure to be forfeited by such infirmity of purpose as he manifested in this instance.

In the British Islands we believe there was but one opinion entertained and expressed of his conduct, one of unqualified condemnation. The censure of the Press was marked and severe, and was echoed from all parts of the British Dominions. These censures were well deserved, and were, as they should have been, the more emphatic in his case, from the amount of influence which he might have exerted over his countrymen, without deviating from the due limits of his peculiar mission. All that can be said in extenuation of his course, is, that it has not been on the whole worse than that of the great majority of Protestant clergymen of all denominations, who have placed



themselves within the influences of American Slavery. With scarcely an exception, however loud their tones might have been at home, the accents of their Protest against Slavery have been carefully modulated to the pitch of their several sects, at the particular time of their visits. This is, certainly, no palliation of his conduct, but it is an explanation of it. It requires a Moral Giant to stand erect in the midst of the Pro-Slavery influences which pervade our political and religious world. And, alas, these are not days when there are many Giants in any land!

#### THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

We have not lacked, the last year, any more than in years before, the encouraging voices and liberal hands of the intelligent Abolitionists of England, Scotland and Ireland. There is a class of mind in those countries which has a deep sympathy with our movement, and, more than that, a clear comprehension of it. Men and women who might be trusted even in this country, and who could undergo the baptism of American Pro-Slavery, like the few THOMPSONS, ABDYS and MARTINEAUS who have blest us and themselves by coming among us. With these friends we have been in constant, friendly and Anti-Slavery communication. Their private and public writings have enlightened and encouraged us and they have given liberally, according to their opportunity, to the necessities of the cause by direct pecuniary donations of signal munificence, and through the medium of the National Bazaar. The women of those islands have again come up to the help of the Slave and have poured gifts precious as earnest of their lively zeal, as well as for their intrinsic value, into his treasury. The blessings of them that are ready to perish abides upon them.

It is seldom, in these days of constant and easy transit from one Continent to the other, that a year passes without our being present with our British and Irish friends, in the persons of some of our devoted Abolitionists. The last year we were fortunate in the mission, though unfortunate in the loss, of Mrs. FOLLEN and her family, who spent a large portion of the last summer and autumn in those countries. Mr. WILLIAM W. BROWN, too, has spent several months chiefly there and has been received and treated with the kindness and consideration due to his ex-

cellent character, Anti-Slavery services and former sufferings. He has addressed large public Meetings in London, Dublin, Croydon, Worcester and many other places with the best effect. From GEORGE THOMPSON, RICHARD D. WEBB and many other of the trans-Atlantic Abolitionists, he has received the most cordial, hospitable and valuable assistance. When in Paris, whither he went to attend the Peace Congress, he attracted much attention, and made many friends, by the ingenuousness of his deportment, and the ability he displayed in the Tribune of the Convention. Marked attention was paid to him by persons of high political and social distinction, and he was manifestly the lion of the American delegation. It is a significant fact that the Secretary of Legation, Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts, acting as Chargé during the absence of the Minister, gave Mr. BROWN the passport which would have been denied to him at home.

We have lamented in common with all who know his excellencies, either personally or by report, the death of JOHN MURRAY, of Bowling Bay, near Glasgow. His name has long been a household word in the mouths of multitudes who never saw his face, but who admired and loved him for the works of goodness that he did. At the last session of the New England Convention, in Faneuil Hall, Mr. GARRISON introduced the following Preamble and Resolution with a speech full of sensibility and discriminating eulogy.

"Whereas, intelligence has been received of the death of one of the earliest, most faithful and intrepid, most exemplary and self-sacrificing advocates of the Slave in the Old World, JOHN MURRAY, of Bowling Bay, Scotland; therefore,

*Resolved*, That this Convention desires to express to his surviving family and friends in particular, and to the world at large, its deep sensibility in view of his decease, its large appreciation of his indefatigable labors in the cause of the West Indian and American Slave, its grateful remembrance of the cordial support he at all times gave to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the warm hospitality he extended to all the delegates of that Society who have from time to time visited Scotland. 'The memory of the just is blessed.'"

It is with deep regret that we have learned that the Rev. JAMES ROBINSON, Secretary of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, and who is well known to us by his zeal and good works, has been cast in a suit brought on the account of ALEXANDER CAMP-

**BELL**, the recreant priest who defends Slavery from the Bible, and mulcted in damages to the amount of two thousand pounds. The dealings of **Mr. ROBINSON** with **CAMPBELL**, which were the ground of the action in question, will be found in our Report for 1848. We truly sympathize with this estimable man and uncompromising Abolitionist for this inconvenience which his Anti-Slavery zeal has brought upon him. We trust to hear that the excessive amount of the damages may have procured him another trial; or, at least, that he has not been suffered to bear alone so heavy a burden.

We have had another evidence afforded us of the abhorrence in which humane men naturally hold American Slavery, when they are removed from the sphere of its immediate influence, in another Scottish Remonstrance, signed by one thousand and forty inhabitants of the Ythan district of Buchan, Aberdeenshire. It was addressed to the American Churches, and in temperate but emphatic language urged them to separate American Christianity from American Slavery. This fresh testimony of Scotland against Slavery was most gratefully received, and has been displayed at the New England Convention and on other occasions with the best effect. Whatever effect such exhortations may have upon the Churches to which they are addressed, and they cannot fail to help to make even them uncomfortable in their sins, they fulfil a worthy mission in strengthening and comforting the hearts of those who are here laboring for their conversion to humanity and Christianity.

**GEORGE THOMPSON.**

We rejoice to be able to inform you that **Mr. THOMPSON**, in compliance with cordial invitations extended to him from time to time for years past, by this Society and by Abolitionists in various parts of the country, has intimated his intention of paying this country a visit, in the course of the ensuing summer. The services which he rendered to the cause during his mission here, the courage with which he met the dangers with which the Pro-Slavery fanaticism of those days surrounded him, and the deep impression his popular eloquence made on the New England mind, to which much of its present advancement may be traced, can never be forgotten by the Abolitionists of America.

We can assure him that they will extend to him the warmest welcome that friendship, gratitude and admiration can offer.

## ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

We think that we can approach our constituents at this time with a good account of our Stewardship, if the very moderate amount of means placed in our hands be taken into consideration. We believe there has seldom been performed a larger amount of Anti-Slavery labor in this State, than during the past year, or of a more valuable description. After the Annual Meeting, the series of One Hundred Conventions, mentioned in our last Report, was continued under the direction of our able and unwearied General Agent until the New England Convention. Mr. MAY was assisted in this course by Mr. and Mrs. FOSTER, Mr. PILLSBURY and Miss STONE, with occasional assistance from Messrs. PHILLIPS, GARRISON and BUFFUM, and from Mr. and Mrs. CRAFT. A large number of Conventions, extending over a large portion of the State, were held during this period, and were eminently successful in their results.

During the summer our regular operations were suspended, but occasional lectures were given in various parts of Middlesex and Worcester Counties by Mr. MAY and Miss STONE. Early in the autumn the same Agents were regularly engaged in lecturing in the Eastern and Middle portions of the State. In November they went into the Western part of the State and held a series of Conventions of the most brilliantly successful character in the Counties of Hampshire, Hampden and Berkshire. In this labor they had the able assistance of Mr. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH. Large Conventions were held in Springfield, Westfield and Lenox. These Meetings, generally, were of the deepest interest, and were very numerously attended. This portion of the State is comparatively a new field, and it certainly appears to be one that will repay a diligent culture.

In December Mr. MAY and Miss STONE held a series of meetings in Barnstable County with excellent success. At Hyannis and South Dennis very large Conventions were held, at which Mr. GARRISON and Mr. PHILLIPS assisted. The impression which was produced upon the hardy population that inhabit those sandy shores, and whose business is chiefly upon the great

waters, is believed to have been of a very deep and beneficial nature. Since the Bazaar, and up to the time of the Annual Meeting, Mr. PILLSBURY and Miss STONE have been constantly employed in lecturing in different parts of the State. In addition to these regular labors of our agents and volunteers, they have assisted at the Quarterly Meetings of the various County Societies, which have been regularly held, and certainly with no diminished interest. Mr. GARRISON, Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. QUINCY and other voluntary speakers have lectured in various towns, by the request of individual Abolitionists or Societies. And, in short, we think as large an amount of agitation has been maintained as could be expected from our limited supplies of men and money. We believe that the willingness to hear the Anti-Slavery Gospel in all its keenness is greater now than at any former time. Nothing is wanting but the means necessary to send laborers into the harvest. We believe that they would find it ripe for the sickle. We confidently appeal to you to furnish liberally the sinews of this holy war.

The Pilgrim Society having this year foregone their usual Celebration of the 22d of December, the felicitous idea occurred to the Officers of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, to hold a meeting at Plymouth, on that day, as a most fitting Celebration of the Landing of the Forefathers. Accordingly arrangements were made for a large gathering at Plymouth Rock, on Saturday and Sunday, the 22d and 23d of December. Notwithstanding a very unfavorable state of weather, a large assemblage came together from various parts of the County and State. On Sunday the large building, formerly a Church, in which the Meetings were held, was thronged throughout the day, although held during the hours of regular service, and crowded to excess in the evening. Messrs. GARRISON, PHILLIPS, DOUGLASS, REMOND, QUINCY, Professor REASON, Miss STONE, Mr. BUFFUM and others addressed the Meeting, which was pronounced the best that had ever been held in the town. The most thorough doctrine was preached in the plainest language, and there was no word of opposition lifted against it. We hope that the Abolitionists of the Pilgrim County will maintain the custom thus begun of making the Feast of the Fathers an occasion of reiterating the great Truths of the Emigration, and of rebuke rather than of adulation of their degenerate sons.

Among the Anti-Slavery events of the past year must be mentioned the publication by Mr. WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH of his work entitled "Slavery and the Constitution." As a legal exposition of the genuine purpose and inevitable meaning of that Instrument, it could not well be surpassed. Mr. BOWDITCH, certainly, better deserves the title of the Expounder of the Constitution than the Statesman to whom his flatterers apply it. It does honor to his acumen as a lawyer and his common sense and humanity as a man. We would commend it to all who have any doubt as to the Constitutionality of Slavery.

The Anti-Slavery Agitation has been carried on with at least undiminished spirit in other States where Anti-Slavery energy has received the proper direction. The Abolitionists of Philadelphia enjoyed for a season last spring a profitable visit from the Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, who addressed several meetings in that city, to the great satisfaction of the friends, and, we hope, to the conviction of some of the enemies, of the Cause. Miss STONE also paid a visit of a few weeks to Philadelphia by invitation from the Female Anti-Slavery Society of that City. She held a series of meetings in Philadelphia and its vicinity, and produced an impression highly honorable to herself, and eminently beneficial to the Cause. The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been diligent in its vocation as is its wont. It has employed lecturers to the extent of its ability. It has disseminated many thousand tracts and publications, besides maintaining its Organ, the Freeman, and assisting in the circulation of the Standard. Its Annual Meeting at Norristown, in October, was one of great interest. It was attended by large numbers, its utterance was distinct and emphatic, and its influence cannot fail to have been permanent and beneficent.

After the Annual Meeting of the American Society, Mr. and Mrs. FOSTER went into the field of Eastern New York, for the general object of breaking up new ground, and the specific purpose of extending the circulation of the Standard. They spent some time on Long Island, where their labors were not left without that testimony to their fidelity which is borne by mobocratic violence. At Hempstead, the presence of an aged colored man on the platform aroused the indignation of the Sovereign People there assembled, and urged them to vindicate the superiority of the white race by pelting with bad eggs the traitors who had

presumed thus to invade their peace and dignity. • At Flushing two meetings were broken up by the Mob. The second being one held under the Oak consecrated to memory as that beneath whose shade George Fox once preached. The history of that day showed that the baptism of persecution through which all new Truths are called to pass was not confined to the days of the great Quaker. The authorities of the town took part with the rioters and insisted upon the meeting being dissolved, on the ground that it was a violation of the Lord's Day. Mr. and Mrs. FOSTER, while expressing their willingness that the fact of the illegality of their proceedings should be tried by a legal process, declined to admit it by yielding to the execrations of the Mob and the importunities of the Magistrates, and did not abandon their attempt until it was obviously futile to continue it. Having discharged their duty, they left the disgrace of the riot upon the reputation of the town and the magistracy that had suffered it to occur, and to go unpunished. Through the summer and most of the autumn these faithful laborers directed their attention mainly to the Counties bordering on the River Hudson. The services of Mr. and Mrs. FOSTER in New York, we cannot doubt, have prepared the way for a successful cultivation of that fresh and fruitful field.

Among the Anti-Slavery instrumentalities in operation in New York during the past year, the North Star of FREDERICK DOUGLASS, must not be forgotten. It has been regularly issued and still marked by the ability which has always distinguished it. Mr. DOUGLASS, in his frequent absences from Rochester, left an able substitute in the person of Mr. DICK, one of the few Englishmen who have adopted our Country without our prejudices. Fairs have been held at Rochester, and recently in Philadelphia by Women of Color, in support of the North Star. These evidences of the estimation in which his paper is held must be very gratifying, as well as valuable, to its Editor and Proprietor.

In Ohio a great Convention of the Anti-Slavery Young Men and Women was held at Berlin, Mahoning County, beginning on the 21st and ending on Sunday, the 23d of September. It was held in the Great Tent which is the Anti-Slavery Tabernacle of Ohio, and the attendance was estimated at from Five to Six Thousand. The enthusiasm of this meeting was unsurpassed by any even of those Monster Meetings which have pre-

ceded it in former times. It was addressed by Messrs. PILLBURY, H. C. WRIGHT, J. W. WALKER, Mr. and Mrs. JONES, MARIUS R. ROBINSON, SARAH COATES and many others. Mr. ROBINSON's appearance on this occasion was made peculiarly interesting from the fact that in 1837 he had been tarred and feathered for pleading the cause of the Slave before its inhabitants, in the very town where this immense gathering was congregated. A striking evidence of the change which the unceasing testimonies of the Abolitionists have produced on the public sentiment of the country! The sense of the Convention was embodied in clear and logical Resolutions, couched in language which could not be mistaken and which could scarcely help making itself heard. This great representation of the youth of Ohio, after recounting the political and religious relations of the country to Slavery, and their sense of their own personal responsibility in the premises, solemnly declared their opinion and determination in the following terms:

"That since our Government has become thus destructive of the ends of Liberty, an engine of torture and Slavery to millions, *compelling the entire people to be Slaveholders or Slaves*, it has become our right and duty not to *alter*, but to *abolish* it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as shall seem most likely to secure a full equality of the blessings of Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; and with full confidence in the integrity of our purpose and the justice of our cause, **WE DO HEREBY DECLARE OURSELVES THE ENEMIES OF THE CONSTITUTION, UNION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES**, and the friends of the New Confederacy of Northern States, where there shall be **NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS**, *but where there shall ever be FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR AND FREE MEN*. And from this great and glorious Convention, we proclaim it as *our unalterable purpose and determination* to live and to labor for a Dissolution of the present Union by all **LAWFUL AND JUST**, though **BLOODLESS AND PACIFIC MEANS**, and for the formation of a New, Northern Republic, that shall be such not in name only but in full, living reality and truth.

And we do hereby invite and entreat all the young people of Ohio, and the friends of Justice, Humanity and true Liberty in all the States, to unite with us in laboring for so glorious and holy an object."

The Convention also put forth an Address of great eloquence of expression and force of reasoning, drawn up by Mr. PILL-



BURY, embodying its views on this most momentous subject. We trust that this great Demonstration is but a forerunner of a revivifying agitation of the political and moral elements of the Great West.

The Abolitionists of Ohio have carried on the Anti-Slavery Movement in their State with the heartiness and zeal which has ever distinguished them. Mr BROOKE has continued to act as the General Agent of the American Society at the West, and he has had, from the East, the assistance of HENRY C. WRIGHT for the chief of the year, and of PARKER PILLSBURY for a portion of it. Mr. and Mrs. JONES, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. WALKER, and many other Abolitionists have assisted in the work. Last Summer, Mr. and Mrs. JONES, who had conducted the Anti-Slavery Bugle with such uncompromising fidelity and eminent ability ever since it was first established, retired from the position they had occupied so long and filled so well, and were succeeded by OLIVER JOHNSON. Mr. and Mrs. JONES carried with them into their retirement from the Editorship, the gratitude of all the Abolitionists of the country, for their signal services to the cause while they occupied it, and their best wishes for their prosperity and success in any other sphere of usefulness they may embrace. Mr. JOHNSON has fully maintained the reputation for talent, skill and Anti-Slavery sagacity which he has maintained ever since he entered the cause in the days of its infancy. The Abolitionists of the West have still reason to be proud of their Organ, and we cannot think that they will permit it to suffer for the want of an adequate and liberal support.

#### THE NATIONAL BAZAAR.

The National Bazaar was held this year again in Faneuil Hall, and with undiminished attraction. The beauty and value of the gifts from the other side of the Atlantic and of the contributions from this, equalled those of any former year. The Hall was beautifully decorated with evergreens, collected and arranged by the labor and taste of Anti-Slavery volunteers. The weather was generally good and the attendance large. The receipts exceeded those of last year. In the evening, numerous audiences were addressed by Messrs. PHILLIPS, PILLSBURY, QUINCY and Miss STONE. The value and importance of

this Anti-Slavery instrumentality cannot be over-estimated. It is more than twice blest, for it blesses not only the Slave but all who give or labor for its success. We trust that the love and zeal that has borne its burden so long will never fail or grow cold.

Fairs were also held at Worcester, during the week of the Cattle Show, at Weymouth, and, we believe, other places. The one at Worcester lasted several days and was attended with great success, both in its pecuniary result and its moral effect. We believe that it is thought it will grow into one of the Institutions of the Heart of the Commonwealth.

## THE CHURCH.

In the brief space that we have left to ourselves it will be impossible to do more than glance at the more important of the Ecclesiastical doings of the country affecting Slavery. What we can allude to is but a specimen of the whole. The Church still lags in the rear of the World in the march towards the victories of Humanity. Its Mission is, still, as it has mainly been, since the true work of Christianity in this country has been developed by the Abolitionists, to cover and protect the crimes of the Political and Social State in the midst of which it finds itself, rather than to assault and destroy them. It has done nothing during the past year to deprive itself of the descriptive epithet bestowed upon it by JAMES G. BIRNEY of "*the Bulwark of American Slavery.*"

The New School Presbyterians afford a fair example of the attitude of the great Religious bodies in this regard. A fair example, because this Division of Presbyterianism is generally regarded as the advance guard of that Denomination. The General Assembly met in Philadelphia last May, and the subject of Slavery was brought before it by sundry Memorials from Synods, Presbyteries and individuals praying that the Assembly would free the Presbyterian Church from all participation and communion with Slavery. The disposition of these impertinences was referred to a Committee, of which Rev. Dr. BEMAN, a repentant and reformed Abolitionist, by a singular felicity, was made the Mouthpiece. The Report graciously admits that these Memorials "are sufficiently respectful in their language, and grave and

weighty in their opinions and arguments to demand the wise and prayerful consideration of the Assembly ;" which consideration, it modestly adds, "it may say without arrogance or boasting, they have received from the Committee"! The result of this wisdom, and the answer to these prayers, may be read in the following axioms of Christian Ethics and crumbs of ghostly counsel.

"Your Committee would deprecate two errors into which minds of different and opposite structures, on this and all similar subjects are liable to fall — one class forget that we live in an age of progress, and the other forget that the first step in progress is not perfection. In relation to both of these great truths here alluded to, we should, as rational beings, and as Christians, be ready to obey the intimations of Providence, and to follow the guidance of the torch-light of truth, which the hand of God holds up before us, to go forward as that goes onward, and to move no faster than its blessed radiance is shed upon our pathway (!) All theories, when they come to put on the forms of experience, must yield to the authority of uniform and universal facts; and both progressives and conservatives might render themselves much more comfortable as well as useful in our world, if they were more deeply imbued with this 'one practical truth. These remarks apply with great force to all evils which are interwoven with the very texture of social organizations, AND SLAVERY IS BY NO MEANS AN EXCEPTION" (!!!)

Thus it appears that those brethren who are thus unseasonably anxious for the purification of the Church from Slavery are in danger of outstripping God and leaving him and "the torch-light of truth, which his hand holds up," behind them in their Anti-Slavery career! And that the intimations of Providence, if obeyed, would lead to the continued extension of the communion of the Church to Slaveholders, and consequently, of its countenance to Slavery! This may be a very comfortable sort of Divine Providence for sleek Doctors in Divinity; but we doubt whether it be not one from whose care the Slaves perishing in the rice-swamps and sugar-houses of pious Presbyterians in Carolina or Louisiana would pray to be delivered.

The Report then recommends the reaffirming of the former action of the General Assembly. That of 1815 which recognizes the unavoidableness of "the transfer of Slaves, under certain circumstances," and condemns not the traffic, but the abuse of it. 2. That of 1818, which is the best testimony in

general terms the Church ever bore, but lacking the Prophetic distinctness of denunciation — “Thou art the man!” And 3. That of 1846, which refuses to determine the degree of moral turpitude of individual Slaveholders, or to pronounce “a general and promiscuous condemnation of them, implying that destitution of Christian principles and feeling which should exclude from the table of the Lord all who stand in the legal relation of Masters and Slaves, (qu. to Slaves?) or Justify us in withholding our Ecclesiastical and Christian fellowship from them. *We would rather sympathize with them*, and would seek to succor them in *their embarrassments*, believing that separation and secession among the Churches and their members are not the methods that God approves and sanctions for the reformation of his Church.” We cannot sufficiently admire the truly National delicacy with which the ugly word Slavery is softened into an “EMBARRASSMENT!” It is of a piece with the tender care we take of our vocabulary. We are always thinking that we can hinder our sepulchres from stinking in the nostrils of the nations if we do but keep them well white-washed. And how do they think God would have them reform his Church, except by the discipline and excommunication of sinners? This is their process in case of the separate crimes of which Slavery is the aggregate. It seems that according to Presbyterian arithmetic, and it is by no means confined to them, “the sum of all villainies” is less than any one of its units taken separately!

The Report then makes a sort of summary of the past action of the General Assembly, condemning Slavery “in the abstract,” as the phrase used to be, but recognizing “circumstances over which good men have no control, which unavoidably prevent” their leaving off stealing men. And the concluding resolution affirms that, “we feel ourselves bound to add that there has been no information before this Assembly to prove that members of our Church in the Slave States are not *doing all they can*, (situated as they are *in the Providence of God*,) *to bring about the possession and enjoyment of liberty by the enslaved*; nor are there any facts before us that they are living in the violation of all the duties growing out of their relations to Slavery, as it is continued in existence by the laws of their respective States; nor do we know that they tolerate any of those evils which ought to call forth the discipline of the Church.”

The Rev. Mr. BASSETT, of Illinois, then moved the following as an amendment to the Report:

*"Resolved, That Slavery is a great sin before God and man, and should be treated by the Church in the same manner as other gross immoralities."*

These propositions, one would think, were necessarily deducible from the generalities of the Report itself; but it is evident that no such inferences were intended to be drawn from it. The wordy thunders of Old Presbyterianism might be permitted to roll in the distance; but as soon as any danger appeared of the flash striking anywhere, the conductor was promptly erected to disarm it of its power.

When Mr. BASSETT proceeded to maintain his amendment, *"a very general opposition discovered itself to any general discussion of the subject!"* But the Pro-Slavery Saints were strong enough to be merciful, and discreet enough not to gag Free Speech, where it was morally certain of having no effect. So he was permitted to go on, and he made a very excellent and thorough Anti-Slavery Speech. He well exposed the cant of "brotherly love," by which the strong and the many had so often prevailed over the weak and the few who had from time to time attempted to uplift a faint protest against Slavery. He illustrated the manner in which these spiritual Boa Constrictors lubricate their victims before swallowing them, by the instance of a delegate from Illinois who was sent up expressly to bear an Anti-Slavery testimony, and being taken to task upon his return for not having done it, excused himself by saying that "there was so much said about *brotherly love*, and they had 'brothered' and 'brothered' away at him so much that he was totally overpowered and surrendered!"

After Mr. BASSETT's thorough and searching exposition of the nature of Slavery and the duty of the Church towards it and his words of warning to her if she neglected it, the Rev. Mr. BEECHER, we presume the Rev. Mr. EDWARD BEECHER, the eminent discoverer of the elimination of guilt from sin when it is made Organic by human legislation, came to the rescue of the Report. He thought the amendment useless, because the Report sufficiently implied the sinfulness of Slavery. It proposed everything practicable. It forbid the Slave traffic, — except for

humane purposes! And "*those who cannot get rid of Slavery,*" (cannot get rid of *a sin!*) are enjoined abstinence from cruelty! Chief Justice HORNBLOWER, of New Jersey, followed in a speech of great earnestness, in support of Mr. BASSETT's amendment. He spurned with becoming scorn the doctrine of Organic Sins, and exposed its wicked fallacies with indignant eloquence. Chief Justice HORNBLOWER distinguished himself, it will be remembered, at the meeting of the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance in 1847, as the only one that had an emphatic word to utter against Slavery! And it is a curious fact that he was the only *layman* that belonged to it.

The Rev. Dr. BULLARD, of Missouri, who followed, began by an edifying intimation of his submission to the Divine Will. "He had no connection with Slavery; and, *God willing,* (!) he never would have!" But, we must infer, if God should make it clear that it was His Will that he should help himself to his neighbor, he would humbly submit himself to the leading of Providence! After a speech or two more, Mr. BASSETT's amendment was almost unanimously lost; and, finally, the Report was adopted with only one or two dissenting votes. Dr. LEACH, a Slaveholder, characterized the whole proceeding fitly. He said "he had moved the adoption of the Report as the best thing under the circumstances. *It was better for the South than any agitation could be.* They could now assure the people that it was the *old thing over again*; it was no more than they had become accustomed to!"

This, it will be remembered, is the action, or inaction, of the Progress Party among the Presbyterians. If this were as fast as the swift could go, we need not waste many words in describing the sluggishness of the slow. The intruding subject was very perfunctorily despatched by them. The question coming up in the General Assembly of the Old School, held at Pittsburgh, May 25th, it was disposed of by the re-affirming of the action of 1845, declaring Slavery to be a purely secular institution, and that it is "*improper and inexpedient for this Assembly to attempt or propose any measures in the work of Emancipation!*" This action was taken with a single dissenting voice, that of the Rev. EDWIN H. NEVIN, of Ohio, who was the only one found to uplift a testimony against Slavery, and to resist the action of the Assembly, which he did with much persever-

ance and zeal. Failing in his purpose, he entered a solemn protest against it on the records; which was signed by *three* besides himself. And this was all that this powerful body, claiming to be the peculiar people of God and the true household of Faith, had to say about the crime which robs every sixth soul in the nation of its every right and of all possibility of progress in happiness, knowledge and truth! And all to cover up the wickedness of the Reverend and Elect Robbers whom they embrace as the ordained Apostles of God and the chosen brethren of Christ.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Incarnation of American Piety, the very Spirit of Evangelical Godliness made flesh; held its Anniversary last September, in Pittsfield. It was an occasion of unmitigated felicity and felicitation. "The fat slumbers of the Church" were relieved from the Night-mare that had so often brooded over them. The "horrible shadow" (alas, no "unreal mockery!") which had almost pushed them from their stools at their each recurring Festival for successive years, was kept aloof with such necromantic skill that all rejoiced to think that it might be laid forever. We fear, however, that they can count upon no permanent deliverance from their spectral visitant, until they shall have rid themselves of the body of their own sin. The sunshine from the presence of which such spectres flee away, is that of Innocence; — the night which they pursue and make hideous is that of Guilt. The concentrated Sanctity of the Nation must depart from out of the Valley of the Shadow of Death in which they rejoice to walk, or else be prepared to encounter the apparitions which haunt its abodes to tell them of duty left undone, and grievous wrong committed.

Our readers will remember that at the Boston Anniversary, last year, the question of Slavery overshadowed all others, and devoured up the most precious moments of the Meeting. Not only Prayers and Addresses were cut short by the interposition of the impracticable Topic, but it even stepped in to disturb the time sacred to the raising of money. The matter had been bequeathed from Anniversary to Anniversary, and it seemed as if "*vires acquirit eundo*," it had grown stronger the longer it had been running. The wise policy of delay, the policy of Sir Abel Handy in the play when his house was on fire, that "if it was let alone perhaps it would go out of itself," was still adhered to, and, on

motion of Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, the whole matter was put over to this year. Wisdom was justified of her children and their works. The fire *did* go out of itself, and the Board has discovered a way by which it can insure itself from a similar risk in future; unless, indeed, the conflagration begin from without and burn around them so fiercely as to make the house too hot to hold them.

This insurance was effected this year by the motion of the eminent Chancellor WALWORTH, the Keeper of the Conscience of the Sovereign People of New York, who distinguished himself in 1846 by his intrepid maintenance of the Christian privilege of a plurality of wives, provided the custom were duly "organized." This gentleman auspicated the Meeting by a motion that "all matters to be brought before the Board for discussion, except by the Prudential Committee, *be approved and recommended by the Business Committee!*" This, of course, protected the Meeting from any unexpected attack from Abolition wolves that might have crept into the Missionary fold, by the appointment of a body of cunning chirurgeons to draw their teeth before they were allowed to open their mouths. No such grim monster, however, seems to have prowled "with privy paw," within those sacred hurdles. The only thing that looked at all that way, was a motion of the Rev. Dr. BACON, of New Haven, to refer all papers relating to Slavery in the Indian Churches to a Special Committee, to consider and report thereon. But the Business Committee quickly clapped an extinguisher upon this firebrand, if indeed it had any combustible properties and purposes about it.

Our readers cannot have forgotten that this distress was brought upon the Missionary Zion by the squeamish scrupulosity of some of its supporters as to the admission of Slaveholders to the Mission Churches and the countenance given to Slavery by the Missionaries themselves, by the employment of Slave labor, and even in one or two instances by the owning of Slaves, — for their own good, of course. At the time of the last Anniversary this matter was the subject of correspondence between the Prudential Committee and the Choctaw Missionaries, in which the latter treated their Employers in the most cool and cavalier manner, plainly intimating to them that their interference was impertinent and would not be submitted to.



The unfinished state of the correspondence was the pretence for postponing action on the subject. The letter of the Secretary, written in June, 1848, remained unnoticed by the Missionaries until April, 1849, when the Missionaries returned an answer the solemn effrontery of which had the effect of bringing the Prudential Committee upon their knees. They forthwith prepared an apology, in the form of a Statement, in which they most humbly disclaimed any such fanatical designs as had been attributed to them. They had only intended "suggestion and argument," not "decision or instruction!" They had no intention of cutting off "the Mission or of preferring any charge against it." On the contrary, they expressed "their undiminished confidence in those servants of Christ!" They merely wished to gratify a laudable curiosity as to the relations of the Indian Missions to Slavery, but had not the faintest wish to do anything about it. And they do not think it expedient for the Board to adopt their letter, although, as Talleyrand said of the clause in the Charter making Catholicism the Religion of the State, "it meant nothing and could mean nothing, for he had made it himself on purpose!"

This recantation and humiliation of themselves by the Prudential Committee for having incurred the suspicion of a design to reflect on the Christian character of Slavery, was concurred in by the Board itself, which thus publicly performed the *koto* before the Image which American Politics and Religion have set up for the People to worship and obey. The matter was left in this shape: "The Ordinances cannot be rightfully and scripturally denied to those who give credible evidence of piety; and the Missionaries, in connection with the Churches they have gathered, are the sole judges of this evidence." Moreover, the Board has decided that "the Missionaries are *not amenable to them, but to the Ecclesiastical Bodies with which they are connected, for their faith and conduct!*" And inasmuch as the Choctaw Churches, and most if not all the other Mission Churches, are Congregational, each may believe and do what seems good in their own eyes, without control from anybody, even the Body that has sent them forth to preach the Gospel! To be sure, it may withdraw its support; but as it has refused to do this for the peccadilloes of Slavery and Polygamy, the Churches are tolerably safe as long as they are true to the Five Points. This

troublesome subject was thus disposed of; and, if one of the Reporters is to be believed, none too soon. For, he says, "if the subject had been entertained and discussed with the warmth of former years, several members from the Middle and Southern States would have withdrawn forever from the Board; regarding it as having departed from the object for which it was formed, and forfeited its claims to their confidence and support!"

Having thus bound the Slave anew to his despair by the ties, "light as air, yet strong as links of iron," of the Religious Influences of the North, the Board celebrated their victory by a species of Religious Orgy in which their rapture seems to have almost amounted to frenzy. The Puritan Recorder likens the scene to that on the Mount of the Transfiguration! "At the closing scenes we seemed to touch Heaven! It was good to be there; and many longed to build tabernacles that they might abide in that Mount of Transfiguration! Traces of profuse weeping appeared on almost every countenance. Holy joy had been breaking up the deepest fountains of feeling in response to the opening of the windows of Heaven. The purest and most vital waters of Heaven and earth mingled in that tide of salvation which flooded the soul!" And the Rev. Dr. ANDERSON remarked, at the time, "that the meeting had reached a point of holy feeling apparently very near to Heaven!" These men had just been giving the Right Hand of Fellowship to the Monster that denies to men their right to their sinews and to women that to their virtue, which steals the child from the parent and robs the husband of the wife, that shuts out Wisdom at every entrance from the minds of every sixth born American, and, if their own doctrines be true, thrusts them down to eternal torments, the victims of compelled ignorance; they had poured the waters of baptism on his brow and invited him to the Table of their Lord, and it seemed to them that they were rapt to the Mount of Transfiguration, to the very gate of Heaven as their reward! "With devotion's visage and pious action they had sugared o'er the Devil himself," and they thought they had been doing God service! We do not doubt that these raptures were really felt by most of those who professed them. It is nothing new in the history of Enthusiasm. But viewed in connection with the action preceding them, they were as absurd in the eye of Reason and more offensive in the sight of God than the Death

Song of an Indian Chief, the stolid ecstasy of a Hindoo devotee, or the frantic gyrations of a Turkish dervise.

In our last Report we gave an account of the appointment of a Committee by the Massachusetts Annual Convention of Congregational Ministers to prepare a Report giving a brief account of the rise and progress of Slavery in our Country, a view of the responsibility of the Free States in regard to it, and a temperate but earnest Appeal to the Community on the subject. This Report was made to the last Convention, May, 1849. It is drawn with great skill and adroitness, seeming to condemn Slavery, while it reserves every protection it claims at our hands. It keeps scrupulously out of sight the action of the Abolitionists; magnifies whatever an exceptional clergyman here and there has ventured imperfectly to utter against Slavery; admits, as the Abolitionists of old, and Rev. ALBERT BARNES of late, have asserted, that "there is no power *out* of the Church that could sustain Slavery, if it were not sustained *in* it;" gives no intimation that the Church and Clergy have not done their whole duty in the premises; glorifies the Colonization Lie; and, by way of Improvement, proclaims their views of the duty of Christians in this matter, as follows:— They declare, "without scruple, that it is the duty of the people of the United States to submit to the laws of the land, in their recognition AND SUPPORT of Slavery, SO FAR, and only so far, as the integrity and peace of the State require such submission.

"We do not DENY, but ACKNOWLEDGE the *legal* right of property in Slaves. We admit that *that is property*, for the time being, which THE LAW DECLARES TO BE PROPERTY. We would not counsel interference with the Slaveholders in their exercise of this right as long as it exists."

And these are the spiritual guides of the sons of the Pilgrims! These the successors of the Wilsons and Cottons of the Emigration, of the Coopers and Mayhews of the Revolution! If this be the degraded condition of Religion in the best part of the Country, what must it be in the worst? Verily, they have made our Father's House a den of thieves!

There have not been wanting, however, instances in which the true religious spirit of the country has forced its way through, or over, its accustomed channels in the direction of humanity and freedom. No less than four Synods and thirteen Presbyte-

ries, besides single churches and individuals memorialized the Presbyterian General Assembly to separate that Church from all participation and communion with Slaveholding. The treatment these Remonstrances met with we have elsewhere recorded. What the consequences of that treatment will be it may not be time yet to know. At the West, however, where most of this Anti-Slavery opposition exists, the Free Synod of Cincinnati has been organized out of those who withdrew from the old bodies on the ground of their Pro-Slavery position, and is based on the refusal of all Christian fellowship with those who hold Slaves. This looks like the action of men in earnest and we hope will be imitated and carried out. There has also been a movement among the Friends, particularly in the State of New York, which promises to give an impulse to the Anti-Slavery cause, in common with other Reforms, different from what we have recently had to expect from the successors of Fox and Barclay. All such reachings after the Right, must ever be watched with interest, and should be encouraged and directed, where comfort or guidance is needed, by all sincere and earnest Abolitionists.

#### OUR POLICY.

In compliance with the settled policy of this Society, recognized by its action for a series of successive years, we had forms of Petition extensively circulated, last winter, praying the General Court to take measures for the peaceful Secession of Massachusetts from the Union, as the only way in which her character could be relieved from the disgrace of sustaining Slavery, and her honor vindicated for the injuries and insults it had heaped upon her. These Petitions, numerous signed, were referred to the Judiciary Committee, a Special Committee being again refused, before which a hearing was had on the afternoon of the 1st of March, in the Hall of Representatives. A numerous audience, comprising a large proportion of the Legislature, was in attendance, when this great cause came up for argument. Full justice was done to it, both in matter and manner by Mr. PHILLIPS and Mr. GARRISON, and the unanswerable strength of their reasoning and the unconquerable array of their facts, must have had the effect of making some of their hearers wiser, if

not better men. Although the result was again a permission to us to withdraw our Petitions, we have profited too well by our experience to be disheartened by Repulse, however often repeated. We have marched on to Victory over the prostrate forms of so many Defeats that we have learned never to be disconcerted. If we do not extort from Massachusetts all she owes to herself, her Ancestry and her Posterity, we may at least hope to make her uneasy in the ignominious posture she now occupies before the Nations. She shall know what she seeks to hide from herself, and which her politicians and priests conspire together to hide from her, her complicity with the buyers and sellers of her countrymen and her pusillanimous submission to open insult and notorious wrong. The way of her deliverance shall be pointed out to her, and she shall still be warned to flee from the Wrath to come. That this may be done, effectually, we would urge upon you to make a yet louder Protest against the Confederacy of Crime to which she clings, a yet more emphatic Demand for her self-purification, by assailing the gates of the Legislature in larger numbers than have ever yet knocked at those doors.

#### OUR AIM.

The lapse of Time and the progress of Events have but served to confirm our deliberate and often recorded opinion that the only Exodus for the Slave from his bondage, the only redemption of ourselves from our guilty participation in it, lies over the ruins of the American State and the American Church. Both the one and the other, as this Report, however imperfectly and feebly, has abundantly proved, are in league with the Oppressor and batten on the crushed bodies and mangled souls of the Oppressed. The corner-stone of the American Church, as well as of the American State, is the Slavery of the African race. We protest against both. We call upon all men who love God and regard Man to come out of both and to unite in building a holier Temple for the worship of the True God, a more sacred Capitol for the service of a better Commonweal, than those structures which rest on the hearts and are cemented with the blood of Three Million Slaves. We are convinced more and more by the experience of every day, that this course

is not only the Absolute Right, but that it is the Highest Expediency. We know that we have never so shaken the Church, we have never extorted from her so large a share of the decent homage of hypocrisy, or compelled her to assume the mask of Anti-Slavery so eagerly, as since we have shaken off the dust of our feet as a testimony against her and left her to be joined to her idols. We know that we have never made our voice reach to the uttermost parts of the Union so clearly, our opinions and practices have never been so distinctly repeated and proclaimed by the universal press, by the Legislatures and by the Congress of the United States, or our Philosophy and Method been so well understood by the General Mind of the Country, as since we have adopted the principle of "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

The work which the American Abolitionists have undertaken is no light one. They aim at nothing less than a Reformation of the Religion and a Revolution in the Government of the Country. They seek to rescue Christianity from the shame, and Republicanism from the infamy, which Slavery has justly brought upon them both. They aspire to assist in the building up of a Church and of a State such as the Martyrs of Religion and Freedom in all past time foresaw, when they joyfully yielded themselves to the Stake or to the Block. Those hopes of the yearning Ages have been hitherto mournfully defeated. The experiment of a Great Nation with popular Institutions, on these Western shores, has signally failed. We are not the Model, but the Warning of the Nations. And this, owing to the disturbing element of Slavery which our Fathers introduced and we suffer to exist in our National Economy. We see plainly that the elimination of this abhorred ingredient must precede any successful attempt to erect a true Republic, enduring and flourishing under the auspices of a pure Religion. To do this is the appointed and the chosen work of the Abolitionists. In the presence of such a Purpose, the Sectarian strifes, the Partizan struggles, the Social competitions of the hour dwindle and disappear. Ours is the only Movement of this Age and Country that will impress itself indelibly on the destinies of all coming Time. While the ephemeral objects which agitate the contemporary mind must soon pass away and be forgotten, the change which we seek to achieve will influence the condition of mil-

lions as long as the Earth shall endure. For such an End we may well forego the temptations of a vulgar ambition and cheerfully dedicate to its Accomplishment the best powers of our minds and the best years of our lives. For the blessing of our labors will never cease from off the Earth, and their Memory will endure forever!

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*The Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from Jan. 1, 1849, to Jan. 1, 1850, have been as follows, viz. :*

From the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Bazaar,.....	\$2,334 02
“ W. Phillips, for unexpended balance of funds contributed for defence of Dr. Hudson,.....	27 00
“ S. May, Jr., for Collections at Annual Meeting,.....	168 90
“ Proceeds of Second Anti-Slavery Fair in Boston,.....	205 00
“ S. May, Jr., for proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair at Worcester,.....	677 61
“ Agents, for Collections, and from various persons in Donations and Subscriptions during the year, and published monthly in the Liberator,.....	2,775 49
<b>Total Amount of Receipts,.....</b>	<b>\$6,188 02</b>

*The Disbursements during the same period have been as follows, viz. :*

For services and expenses of Parker Pillsbury, as Agent,.....	\$308 90
“ Office expenses at 21 Cornhill,.....	317 90
“ Services and expenses of John S. Jacobs, as Agent,.....	15 00
“ Sundry bills for printing,.....	5 75
“ Office Rent, 21 Cornhill,.....	200 00
“ Use of Halls for sundry Conventions,.....	48 25
“ Commissions to S. Brooke, on Collections,.....	11 84
Paid per order of the Board to Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society,...	3,516 63
For services and expenses of Lucy Stone, as Agent,.....	263 56
“ Printing Annual Report,.....	84 50
“ Expenses of Annual Meeting,.....	66 76
“ Services of S. May, Jr., as General Agent,.....	600 00
Paid S. May, Jr., for his expenses, postages, &c.,.....	100 80
“ Expenses of New England Anti-Slavery Convention,.....	121 25
“ Expenses of Celebration, Fourth of July,.....	40 60
“ For 50 copies of the Liberator for Members of Congress,.....	25 00
“ Expenses of Celebration of West India Emancipation, at Worcester,.....	99 64
“ Bill of Duties on Goods imported for Fair, in 1848,.....	47 06
“ For services and expenses of C. C. Burleigh, as Agent,.....	53 70
“ For services of J. L. Russell, as Agent,.....	5 00
“ For services and expenses of W. L. Garrison, in Barnstable County,.....	12 00
<b>Total Amount of Disbursements,.....</b>	<b>\$5,944 44</b>
<b>Balance remaining in Treasury,.....</b>	<b>243 58</b>
	<b>\$6,188 02</b>

BROOKLINE, JAN. 1, 1850.

S. PHILBRICK, Treasurer.

Boston, Jan. 13, 1850.

I have examined the above account and find it correctly cast and properly vouched.

EDMUND JACKSON, Auditor.



## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

### VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge,	CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	BENJAMIN SNOW, JR., Fitchburg,
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	CYRUS PEIRCE, Newton,
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	THOMAS T. STONE, Salem,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	WILLIAM ASHEY, Newburyport,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	JOHN BAILEY, Lynn,
NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,	CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH, Boston,	J. S. STAFFORD, Cummington.

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

### TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

### AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

### COUNSELLORS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE W. WESTON,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,	JOHN M. SPEAR,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,	JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,	WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH.

# APPENDIX.

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## EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held at Faneuil Hall, commencing on Wednesday, Jan. 23d, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The Meeting was called to order by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Boston, and ELIZA J. KENNY, of Salem, were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of E. Quincy, it was

*Voted*, That a Committee on Business be nominated from the Chair. The following persons were nominated and chosen:— WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, PARKER PILLSBURY, CHARLES F. HOVEY, LUCY STONE, ANNE W. WESTON.

Subsequently, on motion of E. Quincy, SYDNEY H. GAY, of New York, and J. MILLER Mc'KIM, of Philadelphia, were added to the Business Committee.

On motion of S. May, Jr., the following persons were nominated a Committee of Finance, and chosen:— JAMES N. BUFFUM, LEWIS FORD, JOSHUA T. EVERETT, and NATHANIEL B. SPOONER. On account of Mr. BUFFUM's absence, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE was afterwards added to this Committee.

The Treasurer, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, presented his Annual Report, together with the Auditor's Report on the same.

*Voted*, That the Report be accepted, and printed with the proceedings of the Annual Meeting.

*Voted*, On motion of W. Phillips, that the Report of the Board of Managers be now heard.

Accordingly copious extracts from the Report were read by Edmund Quincy. After which, the Society adjourned to 2½ o'clock.

## WEDNESDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting was called to order at quarter before 3 o'clock, and the proceedings were introduced by an Anti-Slavery song from a volunteer choir, as was the case with nearly every subsequent session.

The President, on motion, appointed the following persons a Committee to report a list of Officers of the Society for the ensuing year:—  
EDMUND QUINCY, BOURNE SPOONER, WILLIAM ASHBY, JOSHUA T. EVERETT, JOHN T. HILTON, ELIAS RICHARDS, JOHN BAILEY, E. W. TWING.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That surprised as we are at the simplicity of the Northern Press and Northern Members of Congress, in urging so incessantly upon Southern Disunionists that their course will defeat their object, since in the Union and under the Constitution is the only security for the permanent and quiet enjoyment of Slave property, we are still more disgusted at the unblushing impudence with which these same editors and politicians rise from their servile knees to ask of the Abolitionists the support of that very instrument which they have just proved to be the corner-stone of bondage, and a comfort to the oppressor.

2. *Resolved*, That we look upon it as one source of rejoicing, even in the atrocious system of Slavery, that the agitation for its overthrow seems destined to waken to life the torpid conscience of the nation, to quicken its sense of justice, and to recall pure religion to the desecrated temples and whited sepulchres which have so long passed for its shrines.

3. *Resolved*, That one chief reason why we enter our rebuke against the CHURCH is, that having so long scattered the seeds of reform, she sits still, now that the fields are white for the harvest; that she disowns the principles which have sprung from her bosom, brands them as infidel, and gathers into her fold those timid sheep, whom she can still govern, lest they be corrupted by the "running to and fro, and increase of knowledge" which her prophets have foretold; that, claiming to have on the breastplate of righteousness, she refuses to have anything to do with the battle; claiming to hold the sword of the Spirit, she keeps it nicely sheathed, while other men contend for the faith once delivered to the Saints; and in view of these facts, we pronounce her claim to be the Church of Christ, an idle blasphemy.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of the Anti-Slavery progress of the past year, it must be a matter of surprise to all coming time, that in a nation sprung from English and Puritan ancestry, the political arena should be the first to awaken to its duty on a great moral question, and that an agitation like that of Anti-Slavery should owe its progress and success far more to the forum than the pulpit, to the selfish broils and time-

serving motions at Washington, than to those who assume to fill the pulpits of Cooper and Mayhew, and to teach the Gospel of Christ.

5. *Resolved*, That we look on the present session of Congress as the most useful since the organization of the Government, and consider its character the result not only of the virtue and independence of a few leading minds there, but of that awakened public opinion of the Free States, of which Washington is but the echo; and this conviction gives fresh animation to the zeal with which we set ourselves again to the work of re-educating a corrupt and besotted people.

6. *Resolved*, That we seek a dissolution of this Union, first, as a measure of individual duty to cease from sustaining a great evil; secondly, to secure free action and expression for that degree of Anti-Slavery feeling which even now exists in the nation, and which is either soothed by the pride, cajoled by the professions, or intimidated by the power of the great national parties and sects; thirdly, by abstaining from all guaranties to the master to leave the balance even between the two races; fourthly, to bring closer to the Southern conscience the indignation and moral rebuke of the age, now confused and restrained by a fusion of these States; and lastly, to bring to bear on the institution of Slavery those principles of the relative value of Free and Slave labor, of the unchangeable connection of national prosperity with popular progress and the elevation of the masses, which has swept chattelism from Europe, and will put an end to it here whenever the breakwater of this Union, which now shields the South from their reach, is removed.

7. *Resolved*, That in the lamented death of DAVID RUGGLES, we mourn the loss of an early, active, sagacious and persevering friend of the Anti-Slavery cause — of one whose professional ability makes his decease a public loss, and whose position and success were doing much to weaken the cruel prejudice against color — of one whose career proves the power of individual intellect and energy in making their way under the most trying disadvantages of race and position, and of personal infirmity and ill health; and that we commend the conduct and character of Dr. RUGGLES to the study of a Pro-Slavery community, as evidence of the vigor of a race borne down by so many burdens, and to our colored friends as a model, the imitation of which cannot fail to secure their elevation and improvement.

Parker Pillsbury spoke to the first resolution, and made some very forcible and instructive remarks on the duties of Abolitionists at home, and in their daily intercourse with those around them.

Edmund Quincy followed in an able speech.

Wendell Phillips referred to the fact that Henry B. Stanton, once deemed a very model of Anti-Slavery fidelity, but who had in 1840 turned his back upon his old friends and fellow-workers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, having given himself up to politics; has been lately

found voting, as a member of the New York Senate, to lay an *Anti-Slavery resolution on the table*. In view of such an example of the moral decline of a deserter, he saw no reason to be either ashamed or discouraged at the attitude in which the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society stands to-day.

### WEDNESDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society re-assembled in Faneuil Hall, the President in the Chair. The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Samuel May, Jr. supported the 5th resolution, referring to the present session of Congress as one of the most useful ever held.

Robert Edmond, a Scotch gentleman, said he would like very briefly to describe to the audience the treatment he had received in South Carolina for endeavoring to elevate the character of the Slave population, and teaching some Slaves to read. He had gone to South Carolina as a baker, but had been so shocked with the low intellectual and moral condition of the Slaves and colored people, that he thought he would attempt something for their benefit. On one occasion, while teaching some Slaves to read, a band of men, disguised, came to his school-house, dragged him a mile or more, and there stripped him of his clothes, and covered him with a coat of tar and feathers, and then ordered him, on peril of his life, to leave the State without delay. Mr. Edmond expressed the astonishment he had felt, on coming to the North, and visiting different towns and villages for the purpose of telling his story, to find how much indifference exists with regard to the Slave's wrongs and sufferings, and how strong a feeling there is, on the other hand, in the Slaveholder's behalf. He said he had been nearly discouraged at what he had experienced and seen in the United States, though he thought the people of his own land would hardly credit the story he must tell on his return.

Parker Pillsbury followed. He commented on the statements of Mr. Edmond, and upon our "glorious union" with the men who committed that mean and dastardly attack upon him. The garb in which their cowardly hands had clothed him was indeed to him a "robe of righteousness," of which Mr. E. would never have reason to be ashamed.

Mr. P. then contrasted, with this treatment of Mr. Edmond, the treatment which Southern men usually receive at the North. He referred to the adulation with which the Boston Atlas recently noticed the arrival in this city of Governor Morehead, of North Carolina. Mr. Pillsbury then referred to the late letter of Father Mathew to Judge Lumpkin, of Georgia, read that letter, with all its honied and complimentary phrase, and rebuked the servile course which the *Apostle of Temperance* (!) is pursuing in the Slaveholding States.

Wendell Phillips took the case of Mr. Edmond as a text for an able and eloquent speech, in which he portrayed the degrading effects of our Slaveholding alliance.

Adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

#### THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.

The Society again met in Faneuil Hall, the President in the Chair. The Secretary read the first resolution.

Daniel S. Whitney, of Hopedale, spoke in support of the resolutions before the meeting, enlarging upon the compromises with Slavery in the United States Constitution. Thomas Haskell, of Gloucester, also spoke to the resolutions.

The Finance Committee reported the following resolution for adoption :—

*Resolved*, That the members of this Society, and other persons in attendance, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar, or such sum, either more or less, as they may think right, for the purpose of defraying the necessary expenses of the meeting.

They also gave notice that copies of the Annual Report would be ready for distribution in the afternoon, and that each person contributing to the expenses of the meeting would be entitled to a copy.

The resolution was adopted.

Some remarks were made, specially on the resolution relative to DAVID RUGGLES, by Wendell Phillips and John M. Spear, and that resolution (No. 7) was unanimously adopted.

Parker Pillsbury continued the discussion on the resolutions, alluding to a recent attack, in the Washington Union, on the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on account of the Petition it is circulating in favor of Secession from the Union. He spoke of the doubtful and hesitating manner in which the Free Soil Party had managed its own affairs; witness the *seven* trials in Middlesex District to elect a member of Congress, in every one of which the Free Soil Party has been steadily losing ground, whereas, if they had agitated the District faithfully and fearlessly, they might have completely triumphed long since. Mr. Pillsbury also spoke of the effect of the Anti-Slavery agitation, wherever thoroughly carried, in unmasking priestly manœuvring, and in suppressing those delusive excitements called *religious revivals*, in which it is only the pro-slavery religion of this guilty land which is revived.

Wendell Phillips and Parker Pillsbury further continued the discussion on the position and character of the Free Soil Party. The latter drew a striking contrast between the regard for liberty manifested in this country and in Turkey, (!) where, according to Lieut. Lynch, whom President Polk sent on an expedition to the Dead Sea, (with a view, as was suggested, to the annexation of Sodom and Gomorrah to

this Republic,) a law of the Ottoman Empire forbids any man to be held in Slavery for a period exceeding seven years, and where there is "no prejudice founded on distinction of color;" and the fact is stated that the present Governor of the Dardanelles is a black man, and was recently a Slave.

William A. White rose, he said, to bear his testimony in favor of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, with its kindred societies, as the only organization in the land which goes for the liberation of every Slave in the land; and therefore, said he, I honor the Society and belong to it. But he did not agree that the Free Soil Party is, as Mr. Pillsbury said, the worst of the three, and that its influence is more to be feared than that of the other two. He undertook a defence of that party.

Adjourned to 2½ o'clock.

#### THURSDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the Chair. Copies of the Annual Report were distributed.

G. W. F. Mellen addressed the Society, and presented certain resolutions as substitutes for those before the meeting. Not being seconded, they were laid on the table.

Charles List, Esq., of Boston, a member of the Free Soil Party, spoke warmly and eloquently in defence of that party, and of his own course in joining with it. He claimed for it an Anti-Slavery character, and that much good had resulted from its labors. He declared himself a believer in expediency as well as in principle; and said he found himself unable to act always on principle, (as he would be glad to do,) but that he must, in many cases, be governed by expediency.

Edmund Quincy presented the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That every one who regards himself an Abolitionist, is urgently requested to pledge all that he can give, all he can collect, and all he deems it certain his town or society will give, to sustain this Society in carrying on a series of Conventions within this Commonwealth, to rouse its citizens to their duty to the Slave.

This, after some remarks in its support, was unanimously adopted.

Parker Pillsbury made a very able reply to Mr. List, and especially to the claim he had set up, that the Free Soil Party is the party of *progress*. What kind of progress is that, he asked, which goes, in its list of Presidential candidates, from James G. Birney, a repentant Slaveholder, and long a most efficient laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause, back to John P. Hale, a man who openly, in the Senate, declares himself ready to fulfil all the Constitutional guaranties to Slavery, and to shed his heart's best blood rather than not fulfil them? and, again, from John P. Hale back to Martin Van Buren, the cunning and inveterate foe of Anti-Slavery, the man who, in 1840, pledged himself, if elected to the

Presidency, to *veto* any bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia? This is *progress*, with a vengeance!

Samuel May, Jr., with leave, stated to the audience the case of Alexander Asher, a fugitive slave from Cuba, recently arrived in this city, by the way of Nova Scotia.

Adjourned to the evening, 7 o'clock.

#### THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, Edmund Quincy, a Vice President, in the Chair.

Samuel May, Jr., said though neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, he would venture to say, the time was not far distant when it would be regarded as one of the greatest glories of Faneuil Hall, one of the best and most appropriate uses to which it had ever been put, that it had been the place where, in successive years, the fugitive Slave, man and woman, successfully escaping from every part of the Southern States, had come, and had received a hearty and most cheering welcome. Last year we had William and Ellen Craft, from Georgia, and Henry Box Brown, from Virginia. To-night we have with us a young Slave-girl, who, in the very midst of the present winter, left her home in North Carolina, left even her little child, and fled from the sufferings and terrible outrages to which she had been subjected, to a Northern climate and a land of strangers. Having accidentally learned that, on the day following, a vessel was to sail for Boston from the town where she lived, (Wilmington,) she determined to put in execution a plan of escape she had long been forming. In the darkness of night, she got, unseen, on board the vessel, and secreted herself in a dark and narrow hole, used for the stowing away of cordage—having provided herself with a bag of bread and a bottle or two of water. There she lay *four weeks*; for, on account of head winds, the vessel did not get to sea for a week or more, and then had a rough passage. Three or four days before arriving at Boston, she was discovered in her hiding-place by the mate. He learned who she was, and generously supplied her with refreshments. He told no one of her being on board, and on reaching Boston helped her to find a temporary home. It has been said that the mate was knowing to her escape; but she avers that neither he nor any one else knew of her being in the vessel until just before reaching Boston. Such had been her sufferings in her damp, dark and confined position, that she could scarcely stand upright on going ashore, and her feet were found to be badly frost-bitten. The girl was the Slave of George W. Davis, of Wilmington, who, though an American, is British Consul for that port, and by whom she has been most brutally and basely treated, as she declares.



Thomas Jones, himself a recent fugitive from Wilmington, N. C., a man 44 years of age, said that he knew the Slave-girl (Betsy Blakely) well, and had known her from infancy; and if he should tell what wrongs and sufferings she had had to endure from her owner, those present would hardly bear to hear them. Mr. Jones gave a brief but very spirited account of his own experience in slavery.

Lucy Stone came forward, took the Slave-girl by the hand, welcomed her to our midst, and appealed to the audience against that Union and Constitution which had subjected her young sister to such awful suffering and violence, and which to-night held hundreds of thousands like her in a like position of degradation and misery.

The President having taken the chair,

Edmund Quincy said, that the Abolitionists came into Faneuil Hall once a year to perform a sort of lustration, or purification, after the various political caucuses, harangues and glorifications of the year preceding. On this platform has Daniel Webster stood, and glorified the Constitution of the United States. But, said Mr. Quincy, *HERE, in this young woman*, who has fled for life and liberty from North Carolina, and is not safe from her pursuers even in Faneuil Hall, you see the *true expounder of the Constitution!* Last year, as Lucy Stone has reminded you, when William and Ellen Craft stood here, just escaped from slavery, you were asked in this hall and from this place, if you would help return them to their *owners* in Georgia. And one loud, prolonged NO was your answer! I will, if you please, put the question to you again:—As many of you as will help give back this young woman, for whom her master offers \$500, will say, *Aye*. [In the crowded hall not one voice said, *Aye*.] As many of you as will refuse to give up this woman will say, *No!* [And from every part of the hall, as with one accord, came the unanimous NO.]

Now, said Mr. Quincy, what do you mean by that? How many of you who have just uttered that No, have, within the past year, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, either directly, or through those you have elected to represent you, and to take the oath in your name? By the very terms of the Constitution, Massachusetts and all her citizens (who have not repudiated allegiance to the Federal Government,) are held and bound to do that very thing which every man in Faneuil Hall to-night has declared HE WILL NOT DO. And are you going to be perjured men? Will you continue to support a Constitution which requires acts of you against which every dictate of your consciences and every sentiment of your nature rebels? Or will you, true to conscience and faithful to God and his laws, renounce your allegiance to that Slave-trading Constitution, and conspire by every righteous means for the dissolution of the government founded upon it? If not, where do you stand? What but empty sounds are the shouts and responses you have

given to-night? What is your professed sympathy for the outraged Slave, when the whole force of your influence and example is thrown into the scale of his oppressor?

Mr. Quincy addressed himself to the Free Soilers, reminded them of the manner in which their friend, the Hon. SAMUEL HOAR, had been ejected from South Carolina, and, said he, if you cannot, or will not, come up to our ground of "*No Union with Slaveholders*," I call on you to show at least as much spirit as did South Carolina; meet her on her own ground, and with her own weapons. When the fugitive Slave comes to Massachusetts, demand that he or she, instead of hiding away in secret, shall be openly carried into the State-house, there to receive the congratulations of the Governor and the assembled Legislature; and when the Slaveholder comes here on his base soul-hunting business, shut him up in the common jail; and if he repeats his visit, make it a State Prison offence, for life. This (to the free Soilers,) you are bound to do, in consistency with your position as men of Massachusetts, acting under the General Government. But there is higher ground than this of mere retaliation. And it is to this higher ground we summon you — yes, all of you, every man, every woman, every child of Massachusetts — namely, to cease from all support of Slavery, to repudiate the Constitution which requires it of you, and to take for your living, practical motto, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

Mr. Quincy's speech, (which with many others, ought to have been reported in full,) though it met with little favor from some in the Hall, and evidently made them wince a good deal, was yet received with constant applause, and took good effect.

Mr. Quincy was followed by Wendell Phillips in a speech of great power, which appealed to every just, every kindly and generous sentiment of the heart. He made the case of the Slave-girl (who sat by the side of the President throughout,) his theme, and well did he illustrate by it the nature of our Federal Union with the fifteen Slaveholding States. But we can give no report, not an outline, even.

Edmund Quincy offered the following resolution:

8. *Resolved*, That the Board of Managers of this Society be instructed, in its name and on its behalf, to memorialize the British Government, representing the case and conduct of George Washington Davis, Her Majesty's Consul for Wilmington, N. C., in relation to American Slavery, and requesting his removal from that office as an act demanded by the spirit of Civilization, the voice of Humanity, and the dignity of the Empire.

The resolution was adopted with only one dissenting voice.

Adjourned to Friday 10 o'clock, A. M.

## FRIDAY — MORNING SESSION.

The Society again met in Faneuil Hall, the President in the Chair.

The Secretary again read the Resolutions before the Society.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution:—

9. *Resolved*, That we record with sadness the total want of consistency of conduct, frankness and independence on the part of Father MATHEW in relation to Slavery; that every one must see his servile and fawning letter to Judge LUMPKIN sets the seal to all we inferred or feared from his interview with Mr. GARRISON; and that if any one then thought our language severe and exaggerated, such must acknowledge now that his "rising genius has sinned up to our song;" and that though we confess that American Slavery, covered with the blood of a hundred battles, and the cypress of as many victories, has never achieved a more palpable and disgraceful one than when she chained the illustrious Father to her car, still we rejoice to know that when he sacrificed his convictions to selfish ease and spurious Temperance, he flung away the love and confidence of millions; that the prospects of the system of human bondage are so dark that the brightest fame is eclipsed when it sinks into the night of that embrace; and that the timid and recreant Apostle of one Reform lies shorn of all his influence in the lap of his Delilah.

Rev. John L. Russell, of Hingham, addressed the Society, pointing out the reasons which the Abolitionists have for encouragement and for persevering in the work, which, through their instrumentality, has been hitherto so successfully carried forward.

J. Miller McKim, of Philadelphia, spoke at considerable length, and with much earnestness and effect. He expressed the high satisfaction he had experienced in our meetings, and especially in the meeting of the previous evening; and then went into a careful examination of the character of the Free Soil Party. He showed that a separate political party is needless to accomplish Anti-Slavery work, and pointed out the successive steps which had been taken, and triumphs won, in Pennsylvania, without the intervention of any political party, but to which both the great parties had been compelled, by the Anti-Slavery feeling in the people, to contribute. We regret our inability to give a full report of Mr. McKim's address.

Parker Pillsbury offered the following resolution:—

10. *Resolved*, That if anything be wanting to perfect this nation's character as the most gigantic and unblushing hypocrite that ever deserved the universal execration of the world, it is abundantly supplied in the pretended sympathy for the fallen Hungarians, now so disgustingly poured forth from the unhallowed lips of Zachary Taylor, Lewis Cass, Daniel Webster, and other representatives of this nation, whose tyrannies and

crimes are unparalleled in the history of all the Austrias and Russias of the Old World; and we cannot but believe, that if Hungary knows no more of true Liberty than to ask or accept the sympathies of such overgrown tyrants, she had far better return to her allegiance to Austria, until a longer submission shall have better fitted her for its enjoyment.

Samuel May, Jr., offered the following:—

11. *Resolved*, That, admiring the fearlessness, the fidelity to principle, and the just discernment of Slavery's true nature and its chief strongholds, manifested by that great Convention of Ohio's sons and daughters, assembled in September last, at Berlin, in that State, we, the members and friends of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, assembled in Faneuil Hall, do cordially respond to their words, and say with them, "with full confidence in the integrity of our purpose and the justice of our cause, WE DO HEREBY DECLARE OURSELVES THE ENEMIES OF THE CONSTITUTION, UNION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, and the friends of a New confederacy of States, where there shall be NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, *but where there shall ever be* FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, AND FREE MEN. And we proclaim it as our unalterable purpose and determination to live and to labor for a Dissolution of the present Union by all LAWFUL and JUST, though BLOODLESS and PACIFIC MEANS, and for the formation of a NEW REPUBLIC, that shall be such not in name only, but in full, living reality and truth. And we do hereby invite and entreat all our fellow-citizens, and the friends of Justice, Humanity and true Liberty throughout the Northern States, to unite with us in laboring for so glorious an object."

This resolution was sustained by Mr. Pillsbury.

The Committee on the nomination of Officers of the Society, reported the following list; their Report was unanimously accepted, and the persons named therein elected Officers for the year ensuing.

[The list of Officers will be found in another place.]

Adjourned to 2½ o'clock, P. M.

#### FRIDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President in the Chair. The question being on the adoption of the Resolutions, the meeting was addressed by D. S. Whitney, of Hopedale.

Lewis Ford, of Abington, and Edmund Quincy spoke on the question of funds.

Rev. Theodore Parker came forward, and was received with warm applause. He spoke of the encouraging signs of the times, and expressed a difference of opinion from some of the speakers with regard to the character of the Free Soil Party.

Wendell Phillips replied to Mr. Parker, and vindicated the course of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society towards the Free Soil Party.

[The remarks of both these gentlemen, written out by themselves, are expected to appear in the *Liberator*.]

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's remarks, the Society adjourned to 7 o'clock.

#### FRIDAY — EVENING SESSION.

Meeting called to order by the President, and an Anti-Slavery ode sung.

Thomas Jones, (once a Slave in Wilmington, N. C.,) again addressed the meeting. He said he had often heard that William Lloyd Garrison and his friends talked against religion. But since he had heard and known them for himself, he found it was not so. He found Mr. Garrison teaching a religion which inculcated love to God and love to man, and he thought William Lloyd Garrison and his friends had got the best religion and the best church he knew of anywhere. Mr. Garrison and *his church* had taken compassion on the poor, ignorant and degraded Slave, had remembered him in his bonds, in his sufferings, in his hunger, in his thirst, and had shown their love for God, whom they have not seen, by loving their brother whom they have seen. I was a preacher to my people, said Mr. Jones, and I don't like to say too much against my brethren of the clergy, but the truth must be told, and it is true that the churches almost everywhere have shut their doors against the Slave and his cause, and gone into union with their oppressors. Now I call upon all of you who profess Christianity, to show your religion by loving your brethren in bonds.

William Lloyd Garrison then came upon the platform. [It was the first time Mr. Garrison had spoken, having been kept by illness from the previous meetings, and he was greeted with hearty cheers.]

At the close of your glorious Anti-Slavery campaign in Faneuil Hall, he said, I present myself before you, not as I should like to do, but as I can — in a crippled condition; yet not crippled by any of the darts of Pro-Slavery, for none of them have ever reached me; crippled as to bodily health, (Mr. G. then laboring under a spinal difficulty,) but still having a *good back-bone* to my Anti-Slavery. I admire, and would imitate, the example of that indomitable combatant, of whom it is recorded that, after the amputation of his legs, he "fought upon his stumps."

Pleasantry aside — I feel that after you have had before you a fugitive Slave, to rehearse in your ears the story of his wrongs and sufferings, and to plead for the deliverance of the millions who are still groaning in bondage, it would be presumptuous for any other person to follow him, whatever might be the power of his logic or the force of his eloquence, with the expectation of deepening the impression already made upon your hearts. A chattelized human being is the best advocate of his own cause, however broken his dialect.

As to the encomiums so profusely bestowed upon me by the fugitive friend who has just sat down, I accept them from that quarter as coming from a sincere and grateful heart. But if any are apprehensive that I may get 'exalted above measure' by such flattering allusions, let them remember the exhaustless stream of abuse and misrepresentation that is constantly poured upon my head. To keep an even balance on this occasion, I will present the other side of the picture. A few days since, I went to Portland to deliver an Anti-Slavery Lecture. A friend of mine, in that city, anxious that a certain member of an Orthodox church should hear it, invited him to be present. 'If it were in my power,' replied this evangelical professor, 'I would kick William Lloyd Garrison so far beyond hell, that even the devil himself would not be able to find him!' (Laughter.) 'The next time you see that benevolent man,' said I to my friend, 'tell him I am greatly obliged to him for wishing to place me precisely where I ever wish to be—beyond hell, where the devil can never find me—for that surely must be in a heavenly state.' (Shouts of laughter.) I am sorry to say that when this pleasant turn to his inconsiderate speech was communicated to that 'orthodox' brother, instead of touching his magnanimity, he answered with great malignity of feeling, 'I wish I could kick him into the *middle* of hell,' that thus my eternal damnation might be made certain! (Strong sensation throughout the assembly.) So much for compliment and denunciation.

Within the last three or four years, extraordinary pains have been taken throughout the country,—from the occupant of the Presidential chair down to the occupant of the pulpit,—to eulogize the American Union as something worthy to be hallowed to the latest posterity. The cause of this unusual display of regard for that 'covenant with death,' and that 'agreement with hell,' is seen in the significant fact, that *Liberty* and *Humanity* are with increasing earnestness and power demanding its immediate dissolution. Among those who have lately come to the rescue of the Union, I am sorry to say, is the gifted poet LONGFELLOW, some of whose best effusions have been in sympathy with the fettered slave (God never yet having given to Slavery a poet,) but who has now prostituted his fine genius in praise of that which is crushing the Slave population to the earth.

[Mr. Garrison here read the following Apostrophe to the Union, from a volume of Longfellow's Poems, about to be issued from the press;—

Thou too, sail on, O ship of State!  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity, with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!  
We know what master laid thy keel,  
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, each sail, each rope,

What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
 In what a forge and what a heat  
 Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!  
 Fear not each sudden sound and shock  
 'T is of the wave, and not the rock ;  
 'T is but the flapping of the sail,  
 And not a rent made by the gale !  
 In spite of rock and tempest roar,  
 In spite of false lights on the shore,  
 Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea !  
 Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee ;  
 Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
 Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
 Are all with thee—are all with thee !

These lines were read by Mr. Garrison as emphatically as though they were really his own sentiments — thus doing full justice to their artistic skill and beauty — the galleries applauding with special animation.]

If, Mr. Chairman, this tribute were only a 'poet's license,' and so understood, if it implied nothing more than a graceful flight of fancy, it would not challenge criticism ; but this was not its design, and will not be its effect on the popular mind. Already it has been published far and wide in the newspapers, and nowhere with more alacrity than at the South. Now, sir, its description of the formation of the Union is not only a poetical extravagance, but absolutely at variance with historical verity. That Union was formed in utter derogation of all the principles of justice, humanity and righteousness — solely by the immolation of one-sixth portion of the population on the altar of Slavery — and through the most guilty compromises. As affirming its real character and present condition, I propose, for the adoption of this Society, the following resolution : —

*Resolved*, That it is with deep regret we perceive that the poet LONGFELLOW has prostituted his fine poetical genius to eulogize the blood-stained American Union as freighted with the hopes and interests of Humanity — as being a noble ship, invulnerable to the rock and proof against the storm, built in the most skilful and workmanlike manner ; whereas, the history of its creation and its cruise demonstrates it to have been

'——— a perfidious bark,  
 Built i' th' eclipse, and rigged with curses dark,'

rotting through all her timbers, leaking from stem to stern, laboring heavily on a storm-tossed sea, surrounded by clouds of disastrous portent, navigated by those whose object is a piratical one, (namely the extension and perpetuity of Slavery,) and destined to go down 'full many a fathom deep,' to the joy and exultation of all who are yearning for the deliverance of a groaning world.

[The reading of the resolution elicited much applause mingled with hisses.]

There appears to be some difference of opinion in this assembly, in regard to the resolution just read ; but I hold another resolution in my hand, which I will submit to the meeting, and which I am sure will be responded to most enthusiastically. It relates to that peerless orator and distinguished advocate of suffering humanity, **GEORGE THOMPSON** of England, (loud applause,) and is as follows:—

*Resolved*, That from Faneuil Hall the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society sends forth its congratulations to **GEORGE THOMPSON**, representative of the Tower Hamlets in the British Parliament, and the representative of the down-trodden of all nations in the arena of Humanity, at the promise and the prospect of his visiting the United States in the course of the present year—assuring him of a warm and enthusiastic reception on the part of thousands and tens of thousands of the friends of universal emancipation, multitudes of whom have been converted to the cause of the Slave since he was driven from these shores by mobocratic violence, and who yearn for the hour to arrive when they may have both the opportunity and the privilege to do honor to the man whom they once, in their blindness or passion, were led to despise or persecute.

["Three cheers for George Thompson," shouted a venerable friend in the body of the house, and they were given by the large assembly with great enthusiasm. Three additional cheers were given afterwards on the adoption of the resolution. After making some further reference to the services and merits of Mr. Thompson, Mr. Garrison proceeded ; but we are unable to continue here our report of his remarks.]

Parker Pillsbury took the platform. He sustained the resolution on American sympathy with Hungary.

Wendell Phillips made the closing speech, a most eloquent one, and frequently interrupted by cheers. He reviewed some of the notable events in the history of the Anti-Slavery cause in Boston, from the time when Harrison Gray Otis sneeringly said that he heard that the Abolitionists, in their madness, put the Bible above the Statute-book ; he alluded to the time when Peleg Sprague stood in Faneuil Hall and tried to awaken sympathy with the South by pointing up to the portrait of Washington, and calling him "that Slaveholder;" he did not omit to call to mind Richard Fletcher's base attempts to propitiate the South, nor the encouragement given to the murderers of **LOVEJOY**, (at Alton,) by "that infamous Attorney-General, James Trecothick Austin." He proceeded to show what had been the position and attitude of the churches in Boston in the same period. Where, he asked, was Hubbard Winslow ? Teaching that a minister's rule of duty, as to what he should teach and preach, is "what the brotherhood will allow and protect." Where is the pulpit of the Old South ? Sustaining Slavery as a Bible institution. Where is Park Street Church ? Refusing to receive.



within its walls, for funeral service, the body of the only Martyr which the Orthodox Congregationalists of New England have had, CHARLES T. TORREY, and of whom they were not worthy.\* And where is Federal Street Church? Teaching that *silence* is the mission of the North with respect to Slavery, and closing its doors to the funeral eulogy of FOLLEN, the bosom friend of the only man who will make Federal Street pulpit to be remembered,—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. And I might ask, he said, where are the New South and Brattle Street,—but they are not.

[The above is but a sketch of the commencement of Mr. P.'s speech, — we must leave the remainder untouched.]

Samuel May, Jr., moved that the question be now taken on the resolutions, (upon which no vote had previously been had,) taking up the resolution respecting GEORGE THOMPSON separately. The motion was adopted.

The resolution respecting Mr. Thompson was then adopted by acclamation.

The question being then taken upon the other resolutions, they were adopted.

The Society then adjourned, *sine die*.

The Finance Committee reported about one thousand dollars pledged to the Society, and payable during the year, and over two hundred dollars paid in for expenses and as donations. In addition to this, the sum of thirty-three dollars was collected for the Slave-girl, Betsy Blakely.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Secretary*.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., }  
ELIZA J. KENNY, } *Assistant Secretaries*.

\* And he might have asked, with equal propriety, Where is Essex Street Church? Teaching that there are occasions when *the Golden Rule* is to be set aside.

## APPENDIX B.

[From "The Liberator," August 10th, 1849.]

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### INTERVIEW WITH FATHER MATHEW.

On Friday morning, July 27th, Dr. H. I. BOWDITCH and myself went to the Adams House, in order to obtain an introduction to Father MATHEW, and to be sure that the letter of the Committee, inviting him to participate in the celebration of that great and glorious event, the Entire Abolition of British West India Slavery, failed not to be put into his hands. Fortunately, we found him disengaged, and were introduced to each other by our esteemed friend, WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Watertown. What transpired during the interview, (which was a very brief one, as we felt unwilling to trespass upon his time, and as we immediately perceived that the object of our visit was not particularly agreeable to him,) was substantially as follows:

Turning to me, Father Mathew said—'Mr. Garrison, your name is very familiar to me.' 'Yes,' I said, smiling, 'I am somewhat notorious, though not as yet very popular.' He then added—'You have some very warm friends in Cork.' I told him I was aware of the fact, and also that in Dublin and many other parts of Ireland, there were many who deeply sympathized with the Anti-Slavery movement in this country. After expressing the strong desire I had felt to see him during my last visit to Ireland, and my great disappointment in not being able to visit Cork, I said—'In addition to the pleasure of taking you by the hand, and welcoming you to America, we have come to extend to you, in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, an invitation to be present at the celebration of the Anniversary of British West India Emancipation, at Worcester, on Friday next. Here is a letter, containing an invitation in an official shape, which you are requested to read at your leisure, and answer as you may think duty requires.' Taking the letter, with some agitation and embarrassment of manner, he said, gesticulating in a somewhat deprecative manner, as though an indecent or unworthy proposition had been made to him—'I have as much as I can do to save men from the Slavery of Intemperance, without attempting the overthrow of any other kind of Slavery! Besides, it would not be proper for me to commit myself on a question like this, under present

circumstances. I am a Catholic Priest ; but, being here to promote the cause of Temperance, I should not be justified in turning aside from my mission, for the purpose of subserving the cause of Catholicism.' 'True, you would not,' I replied—'for, in that capacity, you would occupy very narrow ground, and be acting for a sectarian object. But I do not perceive any analogy in the case supposed, to the one presented to you. The cause of liberty and emancipation, like that of temperance, covers the whole ground of humanity, and is as broad as the whole earth ; and, therefore, you may as freely advocate the one as the other.' 'O,' said he, 'I am not in favor of Slavery — I should never think of advocating it though I don't know as we can say that there is any specific injunction against it in the Scriptures.' 'O,' said I, interrupting him, and placing my hand on my heart, 'the injunction is here — inside of every human being.' 'Catholic priests are not in favor of Slavery,' he replied. 'Do you intend visiting the Slave States ?' I inquired, and on receiving an affirmative answer, I said — 'Well,' I am confident you will find at the South, Catholic priests and Catholic laymen who are Slaveholders and Slave buyers.' In order that there should be no room for misconception, I distinctly said to him, 'The Abolitionists have no wish or design to divert you from the great mission which you have come to America to prosecute ; on the contrary, they feel a deep and lively interest in that mission, and desire that your efforts may be crowned with abundant success. But they trust that while you are in the country, you will occasionally find an opportunity, both in public and in private, to admonish your countrymen to be true to liberty, and to give no countenance to Slavery or its abettors ; for there is great need of such counsel, as they are giving the weight of their religious and political influence to the side of the Slave Power. They hold the key of the Slave's dungeon, as the balance of political power is in their hands. Moreover, the Anniversary of British West India Emancipation was deemed by us an event in which you would feel a special interest, and might participate with great propriety. We have not forgotten,' I continued, 'that seven years ago, an Address was sent from Ireland, signed by DANIEL O'CONNELL, THEOBALD MATHEW, and seventy thousand others, invoking the Irishmen and Irishwomen in America to join with the Abolitionists, as the only true and consistent friends of liberty ; and we feel, therefore, that we are not intrusive, but rather warranted, in asking you to repew an appeal so important, and to which they have given little or no heed.' 'O,' said he, as if the act had long since passed from his memory into oblivion, 'I do now recollect that I signed such an Address ; and I also recollect that, at that time, it subjected me to a good deal of odium.' This was said as if he had winced under it — under the odium cast by American traffickers in human flesh ! Of what, then, should he be proud on earth ? Such odium he should have gloried in, as the evidence of his fidelity to the cause of down-trodden humanity.

Finding nothing was to be gained by protracting the interview, and feeling deeply saddened by the result, we took our leave, again expressing the hope that he would attentively read the letter we had just put into his hands, and answer it at his earliest convenience. To that letter, he has not had the courtesy to make any reply.

I have endeavored to state what was said at this interview by Father MATHEW and myself with as much verbal accuracy as possible, and believe that I have not only given the substance, but nearly the exact words of the conversation between us. What gave me special surprise, and inflicted the deepest wound upon my spirit, was the apparent lack of all sympathy for the Slave, of all interest in the Anti-Slavery movement. Not a syllable fell from his lips, expressive of pleasure that the American Slave has his faithful and devoted advocates — or of joy at the emancipation of eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British Isles! It is with great sorrow of heart that I lay these facts before America, Ireland, and the world.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

The letter of invitation which was left in the hands of Father MATHEW is as follows:

Boston, July 26th, 1849.

ESTEEMED FRIEND OF HUMANITY:

The Anniversary of the most thrilling event of the nineteenth century, the Abolition of Slavery in the British West India Islands, will be celebrated at Worcester, in this Commonwealth, on Friday, August 3d, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. In behalf of that Society, the undersigned are instructed to extend to you a cordial and an earnest invitation to be present, and to participate in the proceedings of the meeting, in such manner as may be most agreeable to your feelings. This they gladly now do; and, having no doubt of your heartfelt interest in this great event, and of your desire to see Slavery everywhere abolished, on American as well as on British soil, they trust that you will be able so to make your arrangements as vastly to enhance the pleasure of the occasion, by your quickening presence. The celebration is one in which all the friends of freedom may joyfully unite, without distinction of sect, party or country. A grand mass meeting of the people is confidently anticipated at Worcester, and able and distinguished advocates of liberty have pledged themselves to be present.

In the year 1842, an "*Address from the people of Ireland to their countrymen in America*," signed by Ireland's lamented champion, DANIEL O'CONNELL, YOURSELF, and *seventy thousand* other inhabitants of Ireland, was sent to this country, in which it was truly declared that "Slavery is a sin against God and man — all who are not for it must be

against it — none can be neutral ;” and that “it is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country’s degradation under this withering curse.” Its final appeal was in the following emphatic language: — “Irishmen and Irishwomen ! *treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren.* By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty — hate Slavery — **CLING BY THE ABOLITIONISTS** — and in America, *you will do honor to the name of Ireland.*”

We deeply regret, that truth compels us to state, that the Address fell powerless on the ear and heart of the Irish population in this country ; and while it urged them to exercise their moral and political power for the extermination of Slavery, that power has been, and still is, wielded on the side of the oppressor, and against the oppressed. Religiously and politically, like the American people generally, they are in such relations to those who “trade in Slaves and the souls of men,” as to sanction that horrible traffic, and to prolong the unmitigated servitude of three millions of the native born inhabitants of the American Union. This melancholy and undeniable fact will cause you much grief ; and we doubt not, it will be a powerful incentive to you, to improve every suitable opportunity, while you remain in this country, to bear a clear and unequivocal testimony, both in public and in private, against the enslavement of any portion of the human family ; and to tell your countrymen here again, in the words of the Address alluded to, “America is cursed by Slavery ! Never cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. Join with the Abolitionists everywhere, they are the only consistent advocates of liberty.”

It will be doubly gratifying to you to know that the Abolitionists in America are thorough-going teetotallers ; and it would be not less so to learn, (what, alas, is not the fact,) that teetotallers are as uniformly Abolitionists.

Congratulating you on your safe arrival in this country, trusting that your mission of mercy will be crowned with unparalleled success, and assuring you of our sincere regard and heartfelt admiration, we remain, dear sir, in behalf of three millions of Slaves,

Yours, for universal Liberty and Sobriety,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,  
FRANCIS JACKSON,  
WENDELL PHILLIPS,  
H. I. BOWDITCH,

} Committee.

REV. THEOBALD MATHEW.

The following Address was sent from Ireland to America, in 1842:—

**ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN IN AMERICA.**

**DEAR FRIENDS:**— You are at a great distance from your native land! A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth— from us and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration; we do not look upon her as a strange land, nor upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and disposition of each.

The object of this Address is to call your attention to the subject of **SLAVERY IN AMERICA**, that *foul blot* upon the noble institutions and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this one stain, America would indeed be a land worthy your adoption; but she will never be the glorious country that her free Constitution designed her to be, *so long as her soil is polluted by the footprint of a single Slave.*

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! *A land of professing Christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who SUFFER THE MOST GRIEVOUS WRONGS AND THE UTMOST DEGRADATION, for no crime of their ancestors or their own! SLAVERY IS A SIN AGAINST GOD AND MAN. All who are not for it must be against it. NONE CAN BE NEUTRAL. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion and liberty.*

*It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse. AMERICA IS CURSED BY SLAVERY! WE CALL UPON YOU TO UNITE WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are all children of the same gracious God; all equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.

You will not witness the horrors of Slavery in all the States of America. Thirteen of them are *Free*, and thirteen are *Slave States*. But in all,

the Pro-Slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. *Do not unite with it: on the contrary, OPPOSE IT BY ALL THE PEACEFUL MEANS IN YOUR POWER. JOIN WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS EVERYWHERE. They are the only consistent advocates of liberty.* Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and Slavery for the black man: that you are for LIBERTY FOR ALL, of every color, creed, and country.

The American citizen proudly points to the National Declaration of Independence, which declares that "All mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Aid him to carry out this noble declaration, by obtaining freedom for the Slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen! *treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren.* By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love Liberty—hate Slavery—CLING BY THE ABOLITIONISTS—and in America, *you will do honor to the name of Ireland.*

[Signed by]

DANIEL O'CONNELL,  
THEOBALD MATHEW,

and (SEVENTY THOUSAND) other inhabitants of Ireland.

The following letter from Governor LUMPKIN, President of the State Temperance Society of Georgia, was first published in the "Temperance Banner."

#### TO THE FRIENDS OF TEMPERANCE IN GEORGIA:

In obedience to the mandate of the State Temperance Convention, assembled at Marietta, last summer, I, as its organ, tendered to Rev. THEOBALD MATHEW a cordial invitation to visit this State in furtherance of the object of his mission to this country. He promptly returned a favorable answer, promising, as soon as circumstances would permit, to designate the time of his arrival. This communication was made public through the columns of the press generally.

About the first of September, one of our newspapers was placed in my hands by a friend, containing an account of an interview between Mr. MATHEW and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and other leading Abolitionists at the North. It seems he was invited by these mischief-makers to attend the Anniversary Celebration of the Emancipation of Slavery in the British West India Islands—and being piqued at his refusal, they brought forth and published a circular, purporting to have been addressed by the late Mr. O'CONNELL, Father MATHEW, and some 70,000 inhabitants of Ireland, to Irishmen and Irishwomen in America, calling upon them by their love for their native country, and every consideration calculated to stimulate their zeal and nerve their resolution, to "unite with the Abolitionists, and to never cease their efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every inhabitant of this country, the black man as well as

the white." The following is a copy of this document:— Here follows the address.

This circular was republished in the Athens Banner of August 30th, 1849.

I immediately addressed to Father MATHEW a letter, enclosing a copy of this highly objectionable paper, and requested to be informed whether or not it was genuine—and if so, whether he cherished the sentiments there embodied? Adding, that it was my decided conviction, that his capacity for usefulness at the South would depend upon his answer to these questions. I have deemed it due to myself and to you, to publish this communication:—

ATHENS, September 4, 1849.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—Your favorable response to the invitation of the Temperance Convention of Georgia to visit our State, caused a throb of joy to thrill through every heart. All looked forward with delightful anticipation to the time when we should take by the hand, and welcome in our midst, the friend of humanity and deliverer of his countrymen from the most galling servitude that ever cursed our race. In the full fruition of these happy hopes, the following document has found its way into our newspapers, purporting to be a circular addressed by the late Mr. O'Connell and yourself, together with 70,000 other inhabitants of Ireland, calling upon "Irishmen and Irishwomen" in this country, by all their memories of their native land, to cling to the Abolitionists in America, and to unite with them to put an end to Slavery here, by all peaceable means in their power. Duty to you, sir, duty to ourselves, and to the common enterprize in which we are embarked, constrain me to bring this publication to your notice, and to inquire respectfully whether or not it be genuine; and if so, to ask whether you still cherish the same sentiments which are there embodied? And to say to you, in all candor, that on your answer to these interrogatories, will depend your capacity for usefulness at the South. Justice to our families, our fire-sides, everything dear to us, forbid that we should call any man brother who unites with our enemies in waging an unprovoked and most relentless warfare upon our hearths and homes, our peace and prosperity.

I will only add, in conclusion, that the pain which I feel in making this communication is greatly aggravated by the consciousness that it is calculated to inflict a wound on a generous heart, which I would most gladly shield at any sacrifice, save that of the great interests involved in this matter. I am, &c.

After waiting one month, I received a very brief reply, which being marked "private," I was not at liberty to make public without permission from the writer. In the meantime, I had learned that several Temperance Associations in the State had passed resolutions revoking the



invitation which had been given — so far as they were parties to it. These proceedings were politely withheld, when it was ascertained an inquiry had been instituted by me concerning this matter.

Under these circumstances, I wrote again without delay to Father Mathew. A copy of this letter is also herewith submitted to the public:—

ATHENS, Oct. 12, 1849.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR:—I received, a few days since, your favor of the 20th ult., and am constrained to say to you, in candor, that, in my humble judgment, it fails entirely to obviate the difficulty which I suggested in my communication of the 4th of September. It neither denies the genuineness of the objectionable document to which your attention was called, nor intimates any change on your part in the sentiments embodied in the O'Connell Circular. This being the case, the opinion expressed by me remains unaltered—namely, that a visit by you to the South, under the circumstances, would be productive of evil, and nothing but evil, to the Temperance cause.

Your letter of acceptance of the invitation tendered you by me, as the authorized agent and organ of the State Temperance Convention, having been published in our papers, it will become indispensably necessary to give publicity to the subsequent correspondence which has taken place between us. I must, therefore, ask of you to remove the injunction of privacy imposed in your very brief reply of the 30th ult.; unless you shall see fit to reconsider the matter, and to make such explanation, if it be in your power, as will be satisfactory to our people.

May I ask of you the favor to forward me, if in your power, the publication to which you refer, giving an account of the interview between Mr. Garrison and yourself? It may possibly supply the apparent omissions in your reply.

Please let me hear from you as early as may comport with your convenience, and believe me, most respectfully, &c.

This letter, in order to insure its speedy as well as safe delivery, was enclosed to a friend in Boston, who, under date of the 9th of October, writes me that it was sent immediately to the hotel of Father Mathew. Up to the present time, no answer has been received. From a private communication from South Carolina, and a paragraph in one of the newspapers of this State, I infer that his visit South will not probably be much longer delayed. I will only add, that, should any thing transpire to change the aspect of this affair, and to present this unguarded act of this distinguished philanthropist in a more favorable light than it now appears, I shall consider it due to justice to make it public. And it will afford me infinitely more pleasure to perform this duty than the

present painful task, which, nevertheless, seems to be imperatively demanded by the necessities of the case.

Under these circumstances, with a clear comprehension, I trust, of the responsibility thus incurred, and with the most profound regret as to the miscarriage of our hopes, I herewith, so long as I have the power, at least, and with the hearty concurrence and approval of the Executive Committee of the Convention, withdraw the invitation so cordially and sincerely offered. Viewing our cause as we do, as the chief hope of man, we must not permit it to be wounded in the house of its friends. We will welcome no one, knowingly, among us, who fraternizes himself, or encourages others to do so, with a fiction which would recklessly shiver the Union into fragments, which would reek its unhallowed hands red as crimson in human blood—which, in a word, seems to combine in one mass all the worst elements of thought, action and feeling peculiar to our troublous times.

And let not the friends of our noble enterprise be discouraged. It will triumph gloriously. It is the cause of suffering and helpless women and children. It is the cause of the hard working mechanic, who, but for the habit of intemperance, might educate his children to fill the first stations in our happy country. It is the cause of the poor of this world, the food and raiment of many of whom are dependent upon its success. It is the cause of the Church, which for ages was grieved and afflicted by drunken ministers and members. It is the cause of the Republic. Our liberty was achieved by a sober soldiery. Self-government can be maintained and perpetuated only by a sober people.

And my word for it, such a cause rests not on sand. It is built upon a rock. Israel passed over Jordan, and, triumphing over all her enemies, took possession of Canaan without Moses. Temperance shall stand and be established in the earth! though she may seem for awhile to be without helper or friend. Her lights may disappear—her leaders may prove treacherous or be removed—her enemies may rejoice, and announce by their mad shouts that the reform is dead—but God is in this work, and Temperance will yet become co-extensive with the world. Respectfully,

JOS. HENRY LUMPKIN.

Milledgeville, Nov. 5, 1849.

The following humiliating letter is taken from a Charleston, (S. C.) paper, and has been published in the New York Express, and many other journals. The force of servility can no further go.

RICHMOND, Va., 22d December, 1849.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR:—When you condescended to address me an invitation to pay the illustrious body over which you, with so much

dignity, preside, a visit for the promotion of the Sacred cause of Temperance, I was not aware of the high rank as a judge, with which your country has honored you, otherwise I should not have marked my letter private, but have left it to your own prudence to have acted as seemed to you most conducive to the good of that glorious cause, equally dear to us both. The second letter which you kindly forwarded I have never seen, as on its reaching Boston I was confined at New York, by a severe illness, and my physician, Dr. Frazer, and my Secretary, deemed it advisable not to speak to me on such an exciting subject.

I now, honored sir, presume to intrude a letter on your well-occupied time, in consequence of an insinuation thrown out, that I had uncourtously declined to reply to your letter, requiring an explanation of my opinions on an all-important question. Whatever errors I may have perpetrated, intentional disrespect to any correspondent, however humble his rank, is not amongst them, much less to a personage vested with the dignity of a Judge. I find with regret, that my single-mindedness in the advocacy of the, to me, all-absorbing cause of Temperance, is not, in this great country, well understood. In my own beloved country, though groaning under the weight of the heaviest burthen of misery that ever a nation bore, I endured every species of calumny, rather than risk the infliction of the slightest injury on the Temperance cause, by advocating the Repeal of the Union between England and Ireland. In referring your Honor to the conversation I held with Mr. Garrison, in the "Adams House," Boston, I vainly thought my solemn declaration of being firmly resolved not to interfere, in any, the slightest degree, with the institutions of this mighty Republic, would have been amply sufficient to calm the anxieties of even the most sensitive American. I now, dear and honored Judge, renew this declaration, and I most respectfully urge that no man, who enjoys himself freedom in this emphatically free country, can require more from one, who has meekly come amongst you to advocate the high and holy cause of Temperance, bearing in his hand the pure and spotless white banner, with the Divine Motto inscribed, "Glory to God on high, peace on earth to Men." In the anxious hope that this candid explanation will remove the suspicion of intentional disrespect, in making my reply private, and my not having answered your second favor, I have the honor to be, dear Judge,

Your brother in Temperance, and devoted friend,

**THEOBALD MATHEW.**

Hon. Judge LUMPKIN, Athens, Geo.











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